



Daily Report

Latin America

FBIS-LAT-93-158
Wednesday
18 August 1993

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Cuba

Castro Bolivia Television Interview

FL1608194793 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 2305 GMT 15 Aug 93

[Interview with Fidel Castro Ruz, president of the Cuban Councils of State and of Ministers, by unidentified reporter from La Paz Empresa Nacional de Television in La Paz, Bolivia; date not given; monitored in progress—recorded]

[Text] [Castro] ...ignored factors that are basic to the present, and of increasing importance for the future. There is also the Vietnam revolution; there are still some revolutions underway. The thing is that at this time, we are the only ongoing revolution in the West. In any case, I do not believe we are more alone than Christ was when he was crucified on the cross. We have a people with a political culture, a fighting spirit, and great patriotism. We have the solidarity, friendship, and affection of hundreds of millions of people in the world.

The objective conditions are really quite difficult, because as you said, after the disappearance of the socialist bloc and the USSR, for good or for evil—those were your words... [pauses] I think it was for evil. Today, many people are discovering the significance of the disappearance of the socialist bloc and the fact that the world has become a unipolar world under the hegemony of the United States. I do not believe that men of the most enlightened thinking and with the most advanced ideas in this hemisphere ever imagined the terrible nightmare of the creation of a unipolar world under the hegemony of the United States, or Yankee imperialism, as I used to call it, and as many people with a sense of shame still call it. They have not decreed its disappearance. [sentence as heard]

[Reporter] You made a comment regarding history in that extraordinary book containing your interview with Tomas Borge. Although you interpret the disappearance of socialism as a negative factor, and it is true that a unipolar world is not the world that one would desire, there are, however, factors that explain that disaster. In other words, nothing falls apart just like that, or so quickly.

[Castro] I think history is full of similar episodes and events. There were nations that achieved great prominence and then disappeared after more or less lengthy periods. If we are to speak of revolutions, let us recall the French Revolution. It lasted for much less time than the Bolshevik Revolution.

[Reporter] That is true.

[Castro] After a few years, after '79, there came the Napoleonic Empire, which ended in 1915 [date as heard]. Then came the Restoration, under the Bourbons. I believe. Was it the Bourbons? Yes, well, the kings. I do not remember exactly to what dynasty they belonged.

Then came the empire again; 100 years went by. Today the ideas of the French Revolution are the ideas that prevail in the Western world. That revolution lasted for much less time than the Bolshevik Revolution.

I believe the achievements of the Bolshevik Revolution cannot be ignored. In the first place, it gave impetus to the liberation movements of all colonies. Do not forget that until the Second World War, Asia was practically completely dominated by a colonial regime. All of Africa was under a colonial regime. There were many colonies in Latin America, and the rest of us were semi-colonies. Therefore, we were under a neocolonialism from the time of independence until the present, to tell the truth.

The Russian Revolution played a tremendous role in the liberation process, including that of China, India, and all those countries, and in the formation of today's world. It occurred in a poor, backward country of peasants. It carried out great feats. It industrialized the country. The country was destroyed twice in less than 25 years, and reconstructed. In economic development, it achieved fabulous production levels: 630 million tons of oil, 700 million cubic meters of gas a year. It built tens of thousands of oil and gas pipelines and railroads. It achieved world records in the production of cement, steel, fertilizer, and many other products. In other words, it accumulated wealth. In metals, it produced almost 150 million tons. Fabulous wealth.

I would say that the USSR was destroyed from outside and from within. It did not just disappear. There was a tremendous struggle between a rich, industrialized West that controlled the world economy and world finance, had advanced technology and, I must add, controlled the world market, in a battle against a socialist bloc that was isolated, and against a USSR that had been blockaded for a long time. The USSR achieved nuclear parity; it conquered the cosmos. I do not believe that what the USSR achieved in such a brief period has ever been achieved in such a brief period of time. It was the ally of the Third World countries. That meant a very great deal to us, because when the U.S. blockade was established and supplies of spare parts, equipment, raw material, food, and everything else were suspended, there was a country that we could lean on [apoyarnos]. In the face of that blockade, which would have wiped out any nation in our hemisphere, it guaranteed us a supply of all those things that were indispensable for the survival of the Cuban Revolution. It did the same for many other countries. Therefore, I cannot applaud the disappearance of the USSR.

[Reporter] Do you not think that certain factors in the destruction of the USSR were linked to structural errors and defects in the system?

[Castro] Well, all revolutions have committed errors and have structural defects. Everyone agrees with the perfecting of socialism. However, no progressive person in the world could agree with the destruction of socialism, and that is what actually occurred. When this entire

movement began, there was no talk of destroying socialism or of building capitalism. We talked about perfecting socialism, and everyone was amenable to any effort to improve socialism. What actually occurred, however, was the destruction of socialism. Those who directed that process acted in such a way as to lead to... [pauses] I do not think the idea of destroying it was intentional. However, things were done in such a way that it was destroyed. They did a terrible thing to the world. What Hitler had been unable to do with millions upon millions of soldiers, with hundreds of thousands of tanks and airplanes, imperialism did without firing a single shot; in other words, with the collaboration of those who destroyed the USSR from within.

[Reporter] Are you benevolent toward Gorbachev?

[Castro] What?

[Reporter] Do you judge Gorbachev benevolently in this?

[Castro] I do not believe Gorbachev sought to destroy socialism. I think he really wanted to perfect socialism, but he did things in such a way that the result was the destruction of socialism. He has a very great historical responsibility in this. There is no doubt of that. In that country, with authoritarian tendencies and traditions, with tremendous influence on the part of those who govern, he had enough power to adopt a number of measures that were premature, hasty, and erratic. It must be said that imperialism had a hand in that too. The entire West united in the area of propaganda, publicity—which they handle very well—in the ideological battle, in the portrayal of their consumer societies, and they worked, they closed ranks to exert pressure in many different ways. They also worked from inside. Someday, history—that history that you like to talk about—will narrate and relate what happened there, and about which people inside the USSR intentionally worked for the destruction of socialism and in collusion with the United States.

[Reporter] Mr. President, does staging a revolution necessarily imply the use of violence? Can a radical, definitive revolution of change, in which one thing is replaced by another, be carried out without violence? The intent of my question is obvious.

[Castro] Well, so far, in general, violence has been a part of revolutions throughout history. So far, all known revolutions have involved violence, we could say ever since ancient times. The French Revolution was carried out by violent means. The independence of every free country in the world was achieved, as a rule, through violent measures. The Latin American revolutions staged by Bolivar, Morelos, Hidalgo, San Martin, and Sucre, were enacted with violence. The Russian Revolution, the Mexican revolution—which was a great, though insufficiently known, revolution—were effected through violence. The Chinese revolution was carried out with violence. The Vietnam revolution was a violent struggle against colonialism and all that.

After the Second World War, however, many of the nations that achieved their independence did so by means of a major change in the world's thinking, and through pressure from international public opinion and international organizations. Yet many of them... [pauses] In Egypt, Nasser made changes with violence. The liberation of the Portuguese colonies was achieved through violence: in Angola, Mozambique, and all those countries. The liberation of Algeria and the Algerian revolution were carried out in violence. It is difficult to find a case [of nonviolent revolution] to-date.

This should not necessarily lead us to the conclusion that the only alternative is violence, or that one always has to resort to violence. I can give you an example of a struggle for independence in which violence was not the basic element: it was the struggle of Mahatma Gandhi. With his peaceful resistance, he managed to bring... [pauses] There were very special conditions in that country, but it can be cited as an example of a struggle for liberation in which violence was not the basic element.

There is another recent example: the struggle of the Islamic people in Iran. Of course, they were violent, but it was not through bloodshed, not through weapons. It was the violence of the masses, the struggle of the masses that brought them independence. In Latin America—the American Revolution, to begin with, the revolution of Washington, Jefferson, and all those people, was a violent revolution.

If I were to ask you for an example, you would find it difficult to cite specific cases that were not like that. Later, Cuba had a social revolution, and it was achieved through violence. There have been experiences like the Chilean experience, a noble, marvelous attempt to change society through peaceful means, by electoral means, and you can see how that ended: in a coup d'etat, in the assassination and disappearance of thousands of people, and an atrociously cruel regime that for more than 15 years kept the country under conditions of repression never before experienced in the course of its history.

That does not mean that we should give up the idea of making changes peacefully. We had a position on this that was not dogmatic: In cases where legal, democratic paths were open for making changes, those legal and democratic paths should be used for change. This was established in either the first or the second Declaration of Havana as part of our way of thinking. The ideal would be for it to be possible to make changes peacefully.

[Reporter] Mr. President, once the revolution has been won and one is in power, is it possible to live within a revolution in which there is not a minimal or great degree of imposition on the society, even if the majority of its members are in agreement?

[Castro] One cannot... [pauses] you have said the last phrase: even if the majority are in agreement. One cannot speak of imposition on a society when the immense majority of the people make the changes,

defend the changes, and are the main actors in the changes. Revolutionary changes are traumatic. You speak of revolutionary violence, but one has to speak of counterrevolutionary violence. Wherever a revolution has taken place, there has been counterrevolutionary violence, without exception. It happened to a great extent in all countries: in Mexico, in the USSR, in the French Revolution. It happened everywhere. After the revolution comes violence, when the minority turns to violence, and in general, with international support. All the crowned heads of Europe were opposed to the French Revolution. All the nobility and all the kings of Europe were against the French Revolution. They helped the counterrevolutionaries in France, and they bloodied the country. All the Western capitalist forces were against the Russian Revolution. They intervened in that country.

In other words, one can say there has been no revolution without a counterrevolution. It is the counterrevolution that makes violence necessary. The local and international counterrevolutions have forced revolutionary processes to defend themselves. That applies in our case. We had the support of the population. Without the counterrevolutionary action of the United States, we would not have even needed an army in Cuba. We would not have needed an army to quell internal resistance. What obliges us to develop powerful means of defense? The U.S. intervention, U.S. aggression, U.S. threats.

Therefore, these are axioms: Every action produces a reaction, and every reaction produces a counterreaction. This is not determined by the philosophy of the revolution, but by the objective factors that make it necessary for the revolution to defend itself.

[Reporter] In Latin American democracies, Commander, a paradoxical situation prevails. If you would allow me, I could draw a brief analogy: Democracy is a system in which there is popular participation within a particular interpretation of democracy, but results are what count. If democracy in Bolivia, Brazil, or Peru does not provide improved standards of living, the situation becomes complicated. If social problems are not resolved, people say: Democracy is all well and good, but we cannot live this way. In Cuba, are the circumstances not such that the people will suddenly say: Okay, the Revolution is all well and good, but this Revolution is putting us up against the wall [3-second break in reception]?

[Castro] It is not the Revolution that is putting the people up against the wall. It is the economic blockade. It is imperialism. It is foreign aggression. It is the forces exerted from abroad to keep us from developing, to keep us from obtaining technology, to keep us from purchasing even medicines or food. Our people are aware of all that the Revolution has done for them and for the masses. They are aware of all it has continued to do, even in the most difficult conditions. Therefore, to our people, the Revolution is not a matter of more material goods or less material goods. It is a question of ideas, of

principles, of values: the country's dignity and independence, social justice, equality, all the factors and values that our people cherish so much that it is very difficult for our people to give them up.

How else do you think our people would have been able to resist the threats and the hostility of the United States for over 30 years? Despite our being such a small country, that great nation knew that the cost of an invasion would be so great, the price so high that it might be unpayable. It was possible because of the idea of unity and strength that the Revolution generates in the people and the values that the Revolution sows in the people's hearts, values that are above material values. It was Christ, I believe, or at least Christianity, which said: Man does not live by bread alone.

Peoples do not live by bread alone. They live by many other values that they are not willing to sacrifice. If those values had not prevailed, so many men would not have died in a struggle for their ideals, for independence, for freedom. In the final analysis, one could say: These are abstract values. What is freedom? Yet, for those values, man will give his life and has been doing so throughout the course of history.

That has been Latin America's history. How many fell, how many died, how many gave their lives in the Latin American wars of independence? We, who have followed them, should ask ourselves now if we have been true to their ideas, if we deserve recognition for what we have done, because the history of our continent—especially, the history of our America, what Marti called our America—is a history of great sacrifice and great heroism. We could ask ourselves if we are at their level, if we have been able to cultivate and develop the values that they sowed in us.

[Reporter] Mr. President, every time you go on a trip to visit fraternal countries of Latin America, diverse presidents and heads of state repeatedly tell Commander Castro that he has to open up to democracy. I imagine you are tired of hearing advice. My question goes in another direction. You said in an interview that you have made a critical analysis of the 1962 Missile Crisis, for example. In other words, you have learned from history, and that allows you to consider certain changes. Are there changes that you have to make in your thinking? What is unchangeable in socialist doctrine when the situation in Cuba is so critical?

[Castro] Well, you have spoken of the October Crisis, right?

[Reporter] Just as an example.

[Castro] You have spoken of the presidents who give me advice. You know there is never a shortage of advisers, and every one gives advice according to his beliefs and his ideas. We are not advisers. On the contrary, we give opinions on things only when we are asked. We do not like to go around acting as advisers.

[Reporter] Have you not asked for advice?

[Castro] I really have not asked for advice. I say this quite frankly. [chuckles] However, I respect and even appreciate all those people who, in good faith, consider and analyze what is best for us, especially after the crumbling of the socialist bloc, and do this with good will toward our country. That is why I listen to all advice with great respect and seriousness. I analyze it. I think about it. I do not just listen to it, I refer it to the people. I refer it to our party leadership for analysis of all that.

I believe that revolutionary principles cannot be given up. I would say there are three things that cannot be given up: the country's independence, the Revolution, and the values that the Revolution represents, the values and the achievements that socialism represents.

It is another matter to have to make concessions to precisely safeguard those principles. They are made as concessions, as we have had to do. We would not have made them if we had other alternatives. The concessions were not made with regard to principles. If we were told: give up independence, we would not give up our independence. We will die with our independence. Give up the Revolution? We will not give up our Revolution. We will go down with our Revolution. Renounce the values of socialism, the achievements of socialism? We say: We will go down with them, but we will not renounce them.

Now, where concessions are concerned, one has to be flexible, and do things at certain times that one would not do under normal conditions. Logically, in a unipolar world, a country under a double blockade—because that was the country's situation after the fall of the socialist bloc—which has to move forward and has to save its values, must adapt its tactics and its strategy to the need for survival, without renouncing its principles. If we had to choose between survival and our principles, we would prefer to sacrifice survival. If we can save our principles and still survive, even if we have to make certain concessions, we are prepared to do it.

[Reporter] From a revolutionary viewpoint, is the idea of a market economy, or an open economy, or certain private participation in the economy completely at variance with the idea of a revolution?

[Castro] No, in our country there has always been private participation in the economy. We have over 100,000 peasants who own their land. Our agrarian reform laws were made to seize large latifundiums, but up to 65 hectares... [pauses] The thing is that a latifundium is very large, and when you reduce a latifundium from 100,000 hectares—like the U.S. estates used to be—to 65, then it seems like very little. However, to a peasant, 65 hectares, or 60, or 40, or 50... [pauses] Some of them have less. We have coexisted with them in a perfect relationship. They are landowners. Many of them own vehicles, transportation. Of course, the state carries great weight. It has a majority presence, but in fact there has been coexistence between forms of state property, forms

of socialist ownership, and forms of private ownership in our country, not in everything, but in many areas.

In this regard, there are different theories, different criteria. As to the new theory of the market economy, the fact is that the term capitalism is not very pleasant, so it was replaced with market economy, which is a little more acceptable, more palatable, easier to swallow. It is just like the term imperialism. It is not nice, so it was replaced with the word democracy, and many things that are preached over there in the United States. It is the system, right? Actually, there is debate on this, and there is still much to be done in this regard. The Chinese are carrying out very interesting experiments in this regard, trying to reconcile socialism with a market economy, under the leadership of the party, and in line with the principles of Marxism and Mao Zedong, as they have explained. They have made broad openings for foreign capital investment and private production. Well, we greatly hope for their success in this. Let us hope we will be able to count on a new and rich experience in this area.

The Vietnamese are doing something similar, and we are studying that kind of experiment very closely, without dogmatism of any kind, because of course, no one has the gift of wisdom, of being familiar with everything and knowing everything. That is impossible. I believe that in the economic and social areas, human knowledge is constantly being enriched. That is why we attribute so much importance to these experiments that are being carried out by the Chinese and the Vietnamese, even though their circumstances are different. The conditions existing in China are very different from those of Cuba: the levels of development, the idiosyncracies, all that.

Sometimes I jokingly say that in China there are Chinese and in Cuba there are Cubans. For example, some types of changes that the Chinese have made in agricultural matters cannot be made by us because China has 800 million peasants. If there is one small piece of land, at least two Chinese families can devote themselves to cultivating the land by planting even if it is plant by plant. But in Cuba, unlike the situation in China, 80 percent of the population is urban and our agriculture has reached a very high level of mechanization. You could not bring the people from the cities to the fields to plant rice and other crops by hand like the Chinese do. That is impossible because the conditions are different.

Therefore, experiences that are applicable in a particular country are not always applicable in other countries. Each country has its characteristics and that is an idea that we defend. There should not be any kind of dogma in matters of the construction of socialism. I believe every country will have to build and develop it according to its own very specific circumstances and conditions. That is a fact.

[Reporter] President, you have repeated something many times, but this interview is for the Bolivian people who have not heard you say it directly. You have

criticized the comments of those who say that democracy can be established only with many political parties, with elections where there are various denominations in the so-called Western style, to give it a name. Nevertheless, you have said that Cuba's democracy is the most democratic in the world. Why do you have that point of view?

[Castro] Well, if I had said that, it would have seemed a bit conceited for me to have ignored the rest. I said that ours is a very advanced form of democracy, with a degree of participation by the people that exists nowhere else. It is directed by the party because that is its historical tradition. When Marti prepared and organized Cuba's war for independence, he created one party. He created one party, not ten. In many countries, the parties have become a cause of friction and in some cases they have fragmented society. It is very sad sometimes to see the spectacle of the conflicts among the parties.

Now then, this is not dogma to us. It is an historical tradition and a necessity because we must keep the country united. That is why we do not want... [pauses] The United States wants to fragment our country into 10 pieces to weaken our resistance. As a tactic and a strategy, we maintain the principle of the unity of the party. What is the party's role? The party does not elect. The party directs and guides, but the party does not nominate or elect the candidates. In our country, almost as in the best times of the Greek democracy—which never actually became a true democracy and was a lot like the present one... [pauses] One cannot speak of democracy when we have a millionaire on one side and a poverty-stricken person on the other. What equal rights and what opportunities does the poor man have alongside the millionaire? One cannot compare one of these millionaires from the huge U.S. corporations with the old people who have to live under the bridges in the dead of winter in the United States, or commit a crime so that they can be taken to the police station to receive warmth and food.

In other words, I have said that the Greek democracy was no democracy. In the best times of Athens, there were 30,000 free men and 70,000 slaves of various types—in agriculture, mining, and so forth. It was like now, when societies with huge inequalities are called democracies, societies in which some people live a life of misery and others have all the privilege. We could discuss all that, but we are not going to discuss all that in our interview. I brought that up in relation to tactics and strategy. In our country, the people nominate, and the people elect. It is as if there were 1,000 parties, because it is the residents, meeting in the electoral districts, who nominate the delegates for that district. Then the delegates of that district form the municipal assemblies and nominate the delegates of the provincial assemblies and the deputies to the National Assembly. They nominate. After being nominated, they have to go to the polls, to a direct vote by the people. In addition, they have to win more than 50 percent of the votes to be elected.

In our party, there is enormous participation by the masses. Students participate in the candidacy commissions and are elected. Peasants, workers, women, all the mass organizations participate. They do the nominating, and they elect the candidates in a united effort. It would take time to explain this in detail, but it is worth analysis. We just had elections on 24 February. It was impressive. The people's support for the revolution was impressive.

As I said before, we do not want to fragment the people, nor do we want to make the people into enemies of each other. In our country, candidates carry out the campaign in unity, and the electorate can vote for one, for several, for all of them, or for none. Nevertheless, incredibly—and this says a great deal for the Revolution and for Cuba—99 percent of the people voted. Some annulled their ballot. Some annulled their vote, while others cast blank votes, but it was a tiny proportion in comparison to the number of people who voted conscientiously.

Therefore, why is the only democracy the one invented by the North Americans, with their bipartisan system that actually has only one party? In the United States, there are two parties with the same ideology, the same program, and the same policies. It is the same party divided in two. Therefore, we can speak of a monoparty system. Then, a third candidate appeared, because he had \$3 billion. Imagine: If one needs \$3 billion to be a candidate, a person who owes \$300 cannot be a candidate for anything. You know how that works in many places. I do not want to... [pauses] You know what electoral campaigns are like. You know how much money is spent. You, who are involved in the mass media, also know the role that is played by the mass media, and that the mass media are not cheap. They are very expensive. That is why many people invented the formula that the various candidates could have some television time, but some always have more than the others.

[Reporter] Commander, when I arrived in Havana some years ago, one of the huge billboards at the entrance to the downtown part of the city said: Everything with the Revolution; nothing against the Revolution. From the viewpoint....

[Castro, interrupting] Was that a long time ago?

[Reporter] Yes, some 10 or 12 years ago. Seen from the viewpoint of the West—to use the term again—that would imply a restriction on freedom of expression. What is your concept of Cubans' freedom of opinion and expression in their media and in society?

[Castro] I think Cubans are among the peoples who most express their opinion, in every respect. Our press is divided by sector: youths, students, workers. There is no private ownership of the media. Therefore, they cannot function in the same way as in a country with a different system.

I would say it has its limitations. It has its limitations because those who are in favor of the blockade or who

are associated with the United States, those who want to destroy Cuba's independence, do not have many facilities for expressing themselves in our country. However, revolutionary opinion has broad means of expressing itself. I do not deny that this is not available to counter-revolutionary opinion.

[Reporter] This is another question that is often repeated and that has irritated you very often, but that is indispensable.

[Castro] What could that be?

[Reporter] Regarding human rights, and the prisoners, and the Revolution and freedom, you have said—and I refer to the Tomas Borge book....

[Castro, interrupting] The Tomas Borge book. Should I repeat the entire chapter?

[Reporter] No, no, absolutely not. You have made a comparison regarding respect for human rights in other countries. Let us try to talk exclusively about the Cuban situation in itself, ethically.

[Castro] I say to you that the country which has done most for human rights in the world is Cuba. Just like that. I say this to you categorically. It has done this even outside of Cuba, through our collaboration with many countries in many areas. Cuba has been subjected to the most vile, most infamous slander. It has been a tradition, ever since the time of our struggle, to respect the physical safety of persons, for example. There was not a single case of one person who was physically mistreated throughout the entire war. How many others can say the same? Not throughout the entire course of the Revolution. [sentence as heard] There is not a single missing person in our country. There is not a single death squad in our country. Not a single person is being tortured in our country. Not a single person has been assassinated. The most humane, cleanest, most scrupulous revolution with regard to respect for mankind is the Cuban Revolution, and I say this without inhibitions of any kind, and without fear of being called immodest. It is the Cuban Revolution, its ideas, its criteria, and its concepts, not just in human rights. Racial discrimination has been eliminated in our country. Discrimination against women has been ended in our country. A real equality has been established. One cannot even begin to talk about human rights in unequal societies, because even the French Revolution, which was not socialist, spoke of equality, fraternity, and freedom.

What has remained of the freedom are formal freedoms. Of fraternity, what has remained in the war of man against man and of equality, nothing has remained. In all these respects, our revolution has done for man what has not been done anywhere else. Why do you think the people defend it? Why do you think the people are prepared to give their lives? Why do you think they are willing to face up to a power like the United States? Why do you think the people are armed?

Do not forget that our people are an armed people. The students, workers, and peasants are all armed. I think the supreme demonstration of respect for the rights of man is to give him the weapons with which to defend his rights. In that, we are very different from other countries. I do not wish to portray Cuba as a model or an example. I simply wish to answer your question, but I absolutely am not angered by that. Where did that new slander come from? [chuckles]

[Reporter] Bolivia, Commander. What does this country say to you now that you have visited and have met its people?

[Castro] Bolivia is incredible. One can feel great empathy for Bolivia, as I felt, affection for Bolivia, and solidarity with Bolivia, which has been such a long-suffering nation, subject to so many attacks throughout the course of its history. However, what I have seen here has truly impressed me: the nobility, generosity, warmth, intelligence of the people, their political ideas, expressed not by a single group, but everywhere. I think I have greeted people of all sectors, and I have encountered the same hospitality, the same solidarity with Cuba. If I could have engraved in my mind the phrases that I have heard in my hours here, I could write a book. There are truly marvelous things. In addition, there is a courteous people. I especially noted the nobility, courtesy of the people, their sense of organization. They have fabulous human value. I believe Bolivia is worthy of a great future. I feel profoundly committed to Bolivia, profoundly grateful and moved by what I have seen here. I never use flattery, but I have to say that I will carry away an unforgettable impression of these people, and an affection that cannot be surpassed.

[Reporter] Commander, I thank you very much on behalf of Colombia because these are beautiful words, particularly regarding that historical relationship that you know so well. Ernesto Che Guevara means a lot to you, Cuba, and Bolivia. Ernesto Che Guevara represented a very strong polarization moment in this country, a clash of ideas, and a nation that had to fight him and did so. Unfortunately, Guevara's end—we have said this—regardless of his defeat or triumph, should not have been the murder it was. When the events involving Ernesto Che Guevara took place, Cuba had a different view of Latin America. Cuba was exporting the Revolution. You have said: I do not want advice nor do I give advice. Where you giving advice then?

[Castro] A very strong antagonism arose between Latin America and Cuba—for which the United States was responsible. With the exception of Mexico, all the governments of Latin America joined the United States blockade and war against Cuba. Confronted with that policy, we also reacted in a fighting mood. Conditions were very different. They are not today's conditions. We also were moved by a strong doctrinal stimulus and revolutionary passion. We wished for revolution. I am not going to say otherwise.

In addition, since we were in a conflict, it is not that we gave advice; during that period we supported the revolutionary movement but not under all circumstances. As I mentioned, where there were no iron-clad regimes, where political means were open, we never advocated the use of violence. We never supported it. We had our opinions and our revolutionary doctrines but we were not advising anyone to do anything. A revolution has to be effected by the people. A revolution cannot be exported. If the objective conditions for revolution do not exist, it cannot be exported—although subjective factors are also needed. In many countries, there were objective conditions but the subjective conditions did not exist.

Little by little, relations between Cuba and Latin America changed radically. Diplomatic relations and coexistence norms were established. Peace and the principles of respect and refraining from meddling in the domestic affairs of other countries were established. This is the line we are following in the new conditions that exist today in Latin America and in the new relations that exist between Latin America and Cuba.

We experienced a period of iron-clad governments and bloody dictatorships in the past. We, naturally, opposed these governments and gave as much solidarity as possible to the those in opposition, to those fighting those governments. Those governments have disappeared. I believe that the democratic opening in Latin America is a great step. It is very important and we must know how to take advantage of it to truly develop economically, develop the unity of our countries, and build a future. Democracy is subject to a harsh test: Will it be able or unable to surmount all those obstacles? It seems to me that we are in the midst of a process of advancement and progress. All of us praise this opening. We are very pleased with the type of ties we have with sister countries of Latin America.

[Reporter] One last question on Ernesto Che Guevara: What did you feel at El Alto International Airport when a portion of the Bolivian Army was rendering head of state honors to you, the same Army that fought against one of the men whom you most loved?

[Castro] Well, in fact, those battles and clashes took place more than 25 years ago. It is not the first time I have talked with the Bolivian military. We have had the honor of welcoming to Cuba two large delegations of the Bolivian Army with whom we have spoken at length on every sort of subject. We have spoken with much sincerity and honesty. I have spoken with officers who were injured in battle. Each has talked with me in a friendly manner. You know books have been written on these events. I have tried to read as many as possible in order to reconstruct the history. Therefore, our relations with the military have significantly improved. I believe that in them we perceived an spirit of nobility and fraternity.

If the struggles that have unfortunately taken place among Latin Americans had left ineradicable scars,

nowadays no Latin American would be speaking to any other Latin American because the independence wars were even more terrible. These were civil wars in which one side supported the Spanish authorities and the other was in opposition. Unfortunately, the history of our hemisphere is full of domestic and foreign conflicts.

What we all should hope is that this history of internal conflict among Latin American brothers is never again repeated. So, forget without forgetting; but be chivalrous with our opponents, be respectful toward our opponent, be able to feel the pain of not only those who fell in your lines but also those who fell on the other side. I believe that our brotherhood and solidarity should be built from that cement, material, and spirit. I believe we all should work so that wounds are not reopened but healed.

I believe this trip should partially serve that purpose so that our brotherhood is strengthened in every sense, so that brotherhood becomes stronger and we become brothers. Sometimes there are problems among brothers; but brothers also know how to overcome problems.

I do not think there is any kind of ill feeling between the Cuban and Bolivian military. On the contrary, there is friendship and cooperation. I believe one of my essential duties is to promote those ties of friendship. They have all have welcomed me extremely well and with great fraternity. This is also evidence of their great chivalry and nobility.

[Reporter] Another final question regarding history: Is President Castro more flexible or more stubborn? What place in history do you think a man of your age, 34 years after the Revolution, will occupy?

[Castro] What place do I think I will occupy in history? I think history has yet to be made. History is not yet to be written, it is to be made. [chuckles] I am proud and pleased with what I have done in life. This is what is most important. The judgment may be fair or unfair, generous or truly stingy. I do not have any specific illusions regarding history. History has been written and rewritten many times, according to individuals and the times in which they were writing. I believe a man has a right to feel at peace in his conscience and heart, when he feels he has fulfilled his duty; and I feel I have fulfilled my duty insofar as I am capable of so doing.

[Reporter] Many thanks to you, Mr. President of Cuba, for this conversation and the terms in which you have referred to Bolivia.

[Castro] Thank you.

Number Fasting in Havana Vigil Increases to 53

FL1708131793 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1155 GMT 17 Aug 93

[Text] Since 13 August, Commander in Chief Fidel Castro has twice visited the participants in the ongoing fast and prayer vigil in front of the U.S. Interests Section Office in Havana in solidarity with the hunger strikers in

Laredo. The vigil is supported by believers and nonbelievers who have joined in. The health of the fasters; their medical care and liquids taken during the day; the support of the area Committee for the Defense of the Revolution; and the two tents, already insufficient to house the people joining the vigil, were subjects Fidel discussed with the participants. Fidel also inquired about the health of Lucius Walker and his companions in Laredo, and asked about the number of fasters. At midnight Sunday [15 August] there were 25; by 1800 on Monday, they totaled 53 from nine Christian denominations, including Catholics, and members of the Communist Party of Cuba, the Union of Young Communists, and the general populace.

The vigil participants were also visited by a group from the National Union of Cuban Writers and Artists, headed by union president Abel Prieto and Moncada Heroine Melba Hernandez.

Alarcon Sends Message

FL1808023893 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0000 GMT 18 Aug 93

[Excerpt] Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada, president of the National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP], handed a note from the ANPP to the Cuban pastors, who continue with their vigil and fasting in front of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana as a demonstration of support to the strikers in Laredo, Texas. In the message, the Cuban deputies expressed to Reverend Lucius Walker and his comrades the appreciation and admiration for their gesture, which has touched the sensibility of all our people.

In the message they also call out to all parliamentarians of the world, specifically to U.S. congressmen, to express themselves against a fatal ending to the lives of those men and women. It calls on UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali to call for an end to these acts of cruelty, based on the resolution of the assembly that condemns the blockade. During his conversation with the pastors there present, Alarcon also expressed:

[Begin Alarcon recording] They are teaching us something that is very important. They are teaching us that those virtues of human solidarity and love for neighbor are invincible; that those virtues, which were present since the very origins of our civilization, will continue having an effect in this world; that it is false that future societies will be based on selfishness, greed, and individualism. The future will always be that future that is represented by men such as those who are in Laredo today and men and women like you, who have had the noble and generous initiative [words indistinct] of being in solidarity with them here, and of telling the world and our people that we do not feel abandoned, just as no one else who hopes for the well-being of mankind can feel abandoned. No one who is willing to sacrifice himself for another human being can feel abandoned. [end recording]

Ricardo Alarcon, ANPP Vice President Jaime Crombet, and ANPP secretary Ernesto Suarez greeted Reverend Raul Suarez and other pastors, asking about their health. [passage omitted]

'High-Ranking' Official Seeks Asylum in Spain

PA1708180793 Paris AFP in Spanish 1603 GMT 17 Aug 93

[Text] Madrid, 17 Aug (AFP)—According to well informed sources, a high-ranking Cuban official on 16 August requested political asylum from the Spanish authorities in Las Palmas (Canary Islands), according to an announcement made by the police on 17 August.

The same sources said the official in question is Josi Antonio Oeza Pirez. The police refused to reveal the man's identity but pointed out that he arrived on a flight from Moscow and took advantage of a technical stop-over in Las Palmas to request asylum.

Panel Discusses Emigration, Ties With Exiles

FL1708201893

[Editorial Report] Havana Radio Rebelde Network at 1600 GMT on 16 and 17 August on the "Straight Talk" program features a discussion of the composition, economics, and politics of the Cuban exile community in the United States. Guests Renato Recio and Eloi Concepcion interject their comments into recorded excerpts of an interview with the director of AREITO magazine and coordinator of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, Andres Gomez, who advocates improving ties between the exile community and Cuba.

The discussion begins with historical data on emigration, stating it was primarily political in 1960, when over 150,000 Cubans emigrated, and due to mixed factors—economic, family, and political—between 1968 and 1972. In 1980, studies show the main reasons to have been the economy and the family. Immigrants are, however, held hostage to U.S. politics: Witness the recent case of Cuban artist Marla Carle, who defected claiming she was not allowed to sing the Ave Maria in Cuba. She emigrated for economic reasons, but made her statement to ensure her welcome and income. Panelists agree that in order to obtain jobs and privileges in the United States, one must reject the Cuban Revolution. In addition, an artist who performs in Cuba is boycotted in Miami.

Participants say that despite cosmetic changes by various administrations, the United States has always linked immigration to foreign policy and uses immigration to show the alleged failure of the Revolution. One must remember that Cuba is an underdeveloped nation. The U.S. Government gives Cuban immigrants special privileges not granted to other immigrants. Cuban refugee centers receive millions in U.S. funds. Since the Bay of Pigs, U.S. policy has consistently been hostile.

Recio and Concepcion explain that there are factions within the exile community. They say there is a problem of perception by both sides. The perception that the exiles have largely supported U.S. policies is justified but inaccurate. There are, of course, those who are involved with the CIA and counterrevolutionary activities; but others are not. Although perceptions are changing in Miami, the anti-Cuban element remains the most influential.

Not all in the exile community support the blockade. People who have visited Miami say that many there want to help their relatives; a majority wants specific elements lifted and other parts of the blockade to remain. They believe that hostility and the blockade will defeat the Revolution. However, not all think in this manner. The exile community is very heterogeneous. The panelists feel that changes should be effected to improve family reunification. Decriminalization of dollars and more travel require an increase in mutual understanding. We must understand the differences and the situation. Many good people will come; others might come merely to profit or to promote their own agendas. Counterrevolutionary groups could try to take advantage of this situation.

The guest speakers conclude by stressing that they trust the political culture and dignity of the Cuban people will help make the best of this effort to build positive relations between the exile community and the Cuban people. They argue for the establishment of a relationship with a future, with increased dialogue in benefit of Cuban independence and nationality. They stress the need to dismiss all dialogue based on submission to the United States or dreams of a neocolonial status, a conditional relationship that Cubans will never accept.

National Bank Official on Foreign Currency Resolution

*PA1708144693 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish
0100 GMT 17 Aug 93*

[Interview with Guillermo Portella Gonzalez, chief accountant at the National Bank of Cuba La Rampa, Havana, Branch, by Marianela Samper; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Samper] The National Bank of Cuba recently issued resolution 213 on the exchange of freely convertible currency and its use. Today we speak with Guillermo Portella Gonzalez, chief accountant at the National Bank branch at La Rampa, Havana. Guillermo, I would like to refer to one of the first paragraphs in this resolution that explains how a person may receive the money if the money is sent by a relative, a friend, or an acquaintance from abroad. How can he access that foreign currency?

[Portella Gonzalez] When a person mentioned in this resolution—which could be any individual who resides in Cuba, including foreign students who are scholarship and members of the Cuban community abroad—

receives money transfers from relatives or any kind of assistance from abroad, he may go to any branch of the National Bank. There he may cash the transfer in U.S. dollars.

He may also cash it in B or C Certificates. If he does not want dollars, he may receive B or C certificates that are good for purchases at any Intur [National Tourism Institute] store. The persons may also cash the transfer in Cuban currency, at the preferential exchange rate offered by the National Bank, which is two Cuban pesos for each dollar. The person may also open or deposit it in an account in foreign currency that is called an account of foreign currency deposit that may be opened at any of these branches.

[Samper] In other words, there are one or more special bank offices in each municipality, depending on the size of the municipality, that will be working with the freely convertible currency. Say a person wants to open an account. What does a person need to do and what freedom of action does the owner of this account have?

[Portella Gonzalez] To open an account in foreign currency, the only thing the person must do is go to one of the National Bank branches and present some identification, which should be his identity card. This is nothing new, and the bank just wants to be sure of the identity of the person who is going to open an account. The person goes to the bank with his identification card and the National Bank branch proceeds to open the account in the amount the person wants. There is no type of restriction on opening the account. Once this account is opened and the person needs to withdraw money, he may do so when he wants and he is given his money in freely convertible currency. If he wants it in U.S. dollars, he is given the U.S. dollars or B or C certificates.

[Samper] Let us say a person has freely convertible currency that is not one of the six that the state specifies for making purchases in the stores, such as the German mark, the French franc, the Spanish peseta, the pound sterling, or the U.S. and Canadian dollars. What can a person holding that currency do?

[Portella Gonzalez] Well, apart from those seven currencies that are authorized by the stores for purchases, there is a list of 11 more currencies, which make a total of 18 currencies, that are the ones appearing in the media, and those are the freely convertible currencies. This means that any one of those 18 currencies can be exchanged by the bank at the rate it specifies. In other words, the bank may purchase that type of currency and sell in turn the currency the person wants. For example, you have Dutch florins, which is one of the 18 currencies the bank has established as freely convertible. You can go to the bank, to a bank branch of the group that has been selected by the municipality, you can sell those Dutch florins and purchase the equivalent—at the established exchange rate—in U.S. dollars. You sell your florins and purchase U.S. dollars at the exchange rate that appears at that time in the market. That is the operation.

[Samper] As an accountant with many years experience, how do you think the bank officials consider the facilities given to the people?

[Portella Gonzalez] Well, we think this is fairly easy. It is not a problem. One cannot say there are any obstacles to making certain transactions. Any citizen can do it. We see this as a very easy thing. As a matter of fact, as of 13 August [as heard], this resolution is in effect. Today is the first work day of the bank, and we have already made such transactions. In other words, this morning several citizens came here who had freely convertible currency, and we have made the corresponding exchanges in B or C certificates or in U.S. dollars, whichever they wanted. The operation is fast. All you have to do is the exchange, the calculations, and immediately you are given the currency you want or the certificate.

[Samper] Thank you very much for your cooperation with Radio Havana Cuba so our listeners may understand resolution 213 of the National Bank of Cuba that was recently issued.

Roundup of Economic Activity 10 Aug to 17 Aug *FL1708155193*

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of fileworthy reports on economic developments in Cuba carried on Havana radio and television in Spanish between 10 and 17 August.

Radio Reloj at 1938 GMT on 10 August reports that 219 mini-dairies have been built in Las Tunas Province so far this year, exceeding the plan for the period and constituting progress toward meeting the commitment for the year. (Eleuterio Dominguez), Ministry of Agriculture representative in Victoria de las Tunas Municipality, reports that these small dairy units have produced over 3 million liters of milk.

Radio Reloj at 1943 GMT on 10 August reports that four commercial products made from azotobacter, bacteria used as a biological fertilizer, have been developed by scientists at Cuba's Basic Tropical Agriculture Research Institute.

Radio Reloj at 1951 GMT on 10 August reports that the Ministry of Agriculture's agricultural-livestock enterprises in Las Tunas Province have 13,000 domesticated oxen as part of the program promoting animal-powered equipment.

Cuba Vision at 2220 GMT on 10 August reports that Ciego de Avila Province construction workers have built projects this year worth approximately 53 million pesos—a 32.5-percent increase over the same period in 1992. Union of Caribbean Construction Enterprises workers, contingents, and brigades are working to finish a five-star hotel in this emerging tourism hub. Some completed projects include the expansion of Maximo Gomez Airport runway and infrastructure, the Liberacion de Florencia water complex, the walls of the first 34

km of the Sasa-Ciego water channel. Over 2,500 homes are under construction, mostly with low-cost methods.

Radio Rebelde at 2300 GMT on 10 August reports that teachers and students from Leon University, Nicaragua, have donated approximately \$3,000 to the Cuban people in solidarity with their heroic resistance to over 34 years of blockade.

Radio Rebelde at 0900 GMT on 17 August reports the donation of \$20,000 to the Cuban consul in Chile by the "One Liter of Fuel for Cuba" solidarity group.

Haiti

Joseph on Talks With Aristide on Malval Choice *FL1708182893 Port-au-Prince Signal FM Radio in French 1030 GMT 17 Aug 93*

[Report by Gary Belizaire on news conference by Antoine Joseph, president of the Chamber of Deputies, in Port-au-Prince on 16 August]

[Excerpts] On 16 August in Port-au-Prince, Antoine Joseph, president of the Chamber of Deputies, announced that Robert Malval was chosen as Haitian prime minister in consultation with the presidents of two chambers of parliament, as required by the Constitution. This official designation was made on 14 August in Washington during a meeting with President Aristide and the two presidents of the parliament, Joseph explained during a news conference. [passage omitted]

Malval was invited, by letter, to deliver to the Chamber of Deputies the documents necessary for his ratification in the position. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording, in Creole] [Belizaire] [passage omitted] According to Dr. Joseph, President Aristide put forward three reasons justifying the choice of Robert Malval as transitional prime minister.

[Joseph] The president's arguments are: First, he made Malval out to be a uniter. Malval can gather the great political family, especially the group close to President Aristide. Because Malval is from a sector which has always opposed President Aristide and which had problems with President Aristide during the seven months of the lavalas government [words indistinct] Malval represents a certain guarantee for that sector. [passage omitted]

[Belizaire] President Aristide gave the parliamentarians sufficient guarantees that the concord would represent various factions. He even told them that he was in consultation with members of the duvalierist sector, something, we remind you, which is strongly opposed by people's organizations such as the People's National Assembly, associated with Ben Dupuy [owner of the pro-lavalas weekly HAITI-PROGRES and former Aristide ambassador without portfolio, who resigned in disapproval of the Governors Island Agreement]. Those

organizations insist that there not be any reconciliation with macoutes. [passage omitted]

The parliamentarians asked Aristide to explain the technical mission that is supposed to enter the country. To justify his request to the UN Security Council, the president cited the problems of section chiefs [rural police heads] who are still very powerful, the judicial system, which is in very poor shape, and the separation of police and the Army. They did not really agree on that score, but this issue will come up for discussion again during the presentation of the prime minister's general policy.

Deputy Joseph does not seem to believe in the nice words of the president, who said they may trust him, that he has changed, that he has become a new man, and that he has acquired more experience to lead the country when he returns.

[Joseph] With his nice words, he tells us yes today and does something else tomorrow. What Aristide has just said is so nice that I will capitalize on his words upon my return to Haiti because I feel that the atmosphere of appeasement that I want to make...[pauses] you understand, I feel that I have begun finding the peaceful country I seek. But is there any problem? Is this the same Father Aristide I knew or is it another one? He told me: Antoine, I give you my word, you may go and say with no problem that I have matured, that I have learned many things. I must tell you that I have this impression, too, when I hear Aristide saying that he has no more reason for problems with the parliament; that he now thinks problems were mishandled and from now on will be managed differently, through dialogue. Sincerely, I say this pleases me.

[Belizaire] Antoine Joseph announced that the president is even ready to meet with all political leaders to show that he wants to make peace and reconciliation. A meeting among President Aristide and the heads of the Haitian political parties is scheduled within the next few days. [end recording]

Legislators Begin Malval Ratification Process

FL1708194993 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1045 GMT 17 Aug 93

[Text] The ratification process for Prime Minister-designate Robert Malval started on 16 August when Robert Malval submitted his personal files to the legislators, who will begin their official examination on 17 August. In his first appearance in the parliament, Malval appeared confident of passing the legislators' examination, including proving his Haitian birth and that his ownership of certain buildings complies with the Constitution.

Ansy-Rose Resignac sketches a portrait of the prime minister:

[Begin Resignac recording] This 50-year-old businessman, considered a close adviser to President Jean-Bertrand Aristide since his overthrow in September 1991, belongs to the Haitian traditional bourgeoisie on his father's side. His mother, of Lebanese Christian Maronite descent, is a member of the Saoud family of northern Lebanon. After elementary studies at the prestigious Saint-Louis de Gonzague School, Malval completed studies in political science in the United States before graduating in Paris.

If not an active militant, the founder of LE NATAL publishing company published editorials critical of the Duvalier dictatorship and its militia in the daily LE NOUVELLISTE, from 1968-87. Printing the ballots for the 29 November 1987 abortive elections cost him his print shop, burned the night of 4 November by armed individuals. His appointment today as head of the future team, while several others were cited for the post, is not well viewed by members of his family. [end recording]

It should be pointed out that Prime Minister-designate Robert Malval presented himself on the afternoon of 16 August in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate to officially submit the documents necessary for the ratification of his appointment. Malval said briefly: I think it is a first step toward a final solution to the crisis. On his departure from the parliament, he was applauded by dozens of unemployed people, who hope to find jobs soon after the end of the crisis.

Chamber of Deputies President Antoine Joseph has said that Malval's ratification process should be completed by 20 or 21 August at the latest.

Senator Tells Nation To Resist 'Foreign Seizure'

FL1708221993 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1800 GMT 17 Aug 93

[Excerpts] Grand Anse Senator Bernard Sansaricq sent a message to the Haitian nation calling for resistance to foreign seizure of Haiti. The legislator asks Haiti's youth to stand up against the foreign colonists. Bernard Sansaricq calls on officers, warrant officers, and soldiers to oppose a return to slavery and to the dictate of new colonists. [passage omitted]

Addressing legislators of the 45th Legislature, Sen. Sansaricq says: May those who wish to collaborate with the white men to help them recolonize Haiti withdraw from the 45th legislature. Let us say no to capitulation and national shame in front of the world.

Bernard Sansaricq adds: We can keep only brave, nationalistic people around us.

FOPS Rejects Malval, Favors Gilles as Prime Minister

FL1708213593 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1600 GMT 17 Aug 93

[Excerpts] The Front of the People's and Union Organizations [FOPS] is relaunching Serge Gilles' candidacy

for the post of prime minister. According to this organization's logic, a political solution is necessary for the political crisis and for the front, and the choice of Robert Malval does not fulfill the requirements of the situation. The FOPS leaders, therefore, intend to oppose Mr. Malval's appointment if he is ratified by the parliament. Guiloto Francois filed a report:

[Begin Francois recording in Creole] The people's organizations continue to make their voice heard regarding the choice of a prime minister for Haiti. On 16 August, FOPS, very close to the Nationalistic and Progressive Revolutionary Party of Haiti, PANPRA, said it is ready to actively oppose the prime minister-designate, Robert Malval, if the parliament ratifies the prime minister chosen by President Aristide. Such opposition would be constructive, according to them. This reaction, being developed by the FOPS leaders, if I understand what they mean, is because the front does not approve of the choice of Mr. Malval. The people's organization contests the choice of Malval because according to FOPS, Malval is not a political man. They say the only person capable of filling the post of prime minister right now is PANPRA coordinator, socialist Serge Gilles. [passage omitted]

While speaking to journalists on 16 August, FOPS stated opposition to any military intervention in Haiti right now. FOPS favors technical cooperation for the military troops in Haiti. Finally, the organization stated that it was opposed to all situations of violence now developing in Haiti. [end recording]

Pro-Aristide Activists Arrested for Posting Banners

FL1708213493 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1800 GMT 17 Aug 93

[Text] Father Yvon Massacre, along with two other pro-Aristide activists, was questioned by the police today in Petionville. All three were arrested after having just posted pictures of the priest president on the walls of Petionville, not too far from the public market, and having installed two banners denouncing military repression in the country. The policemen pulled down the banners and destroyed the posters. Several other activists were with Father Massacre, including businessman Antoine Izmary. Izmary was not questioned.

Commerce Secretary Briefs Senate on NAFTA

PA1808013993 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish
2217 GMT 17 Aug 93

[Text] Mexico City, 17 Aug (NOTIMEX)—Today, Jaime Serra Puche, Mexican secretary of commerce and industrial development, confirmed that the NAFTA [North American Free Trade Agreement] parallel agreements guaranteed full respect for Mexican sovereignty. He stated that during the negotiations of the parallel agreements, Mexico rejected the application of ecological and labor sanctions by supranational organizations.

Appearing before the Mexican Senate, Serra noted that among the accomplishments of the negotiations is the nonacceptance of supranational overseers or inspectors and noninterference in the judicial system. Serra stressed that no changes to the national legislation or imposition of unilateral commercial sanctions were approved in the parallel agreements. He reiterated that the implementation of the trilateral treaty will promote economic development and create jobs, which will result in higher income and better technology. This, he continued, will contribute to substantial reduction of environmental problems. "The joint objectives, the mutual advantages, and the mechanisms established in the treaty have been left intact," the Mexican official emphasized.

Serra explained that expectations established by the Executive Branch with respect to mutual sovereignty were fulfilled, together with those on no renegotiation of the signed commercial agreement and preventing the agreements from becoming instruments of disguised protectionism. Serra stressed that the commercial agreement is an instrument "that will permit us to improve the standard of living for Mexicans and will enable our country to create good-paying jobs and a favorable environmental atmosphere."

In his appearance before the Senate, the commerce and industrial development secretary explained the scope of the agreements on environmental cooperation, which is aimed at seeking the conservation, protection, and improvement of the three countries' environment to improve the standard of living of their citizens. He added that each country confirmed the right to establish its own policies and laws to preserve its environment.

Regarding the scope of the agreement on labor issues, the official guaranteed that the rights of Mexican workers, such as the right to strike, to hold collective bargaining agreement negotiations, and to protect migrant workers were fully guaranteed. Serra asserted that the labor agreement seeks to promote greater cooperation between the United States, Mexico, and Canada in order to stimulate competitiveness based on improved productivity, quality, and innovation.

He concluded by saying that should it be ratified by the Mexican Senate, the regional treaty will be an additional means of increasing the international competitiveness of the three countries and will create new jobs and investments, which will ultimately have an impact on Mexicans' standard of living.

National Congress Begins Special Sessions

PA1708200693 Mexico City Canal 13 Television Azteca Network in Spanish 1300 GMT 17 Aug 93

[From the "Good Morning From Mexico" newscast]

[Text] President Carlos Salinas de Gortari said on 16 August, during a breakfast meeting with deputies and senators of the Institutional Democratic Party [PRI] that the democratic process in the country is irreversible. The president urged the lawmakers to work constantly, with the clear political conviction they are building and maintaining harmony among Mexicans, during the National Congress special period of sessions. At Los Pinos Presidential Residence, Salinas added that in assessing the proposals for political and electoral reforms, during this special period of sessions, it is fundamental to understand they are in line with the democratic process in the country, something that is irreversible.

He called on the lawmakers to perform their legislative work with responsibility and firmness so it may be historic. In the afternoon, PRI, PAN [National Action Party], and PARM [Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution] legislators went to Los Pinos to inform the president that the special period of sessions had been formally installed. The president said:

[Begin Salinas recording] We know that for our countrymen to fully exercise their political rights we need honesty in matters pertaining to the law—and that is how it will be—and changes in political practices. For that reason, reforms adopted within the framework of the law are welcomed. All of us will have to take responsibility for constantly and permanently reforming and modernizing the daily practices of political life of this great nation of ours. [end recording]

Following a two-hour delay, the Chamber of Deputies and Senate were formally installed for the first special period of sessions of the 55th legislature.

Senator Humberto Lugo Gil and Deputy (Rodolfo Echeverria Ruiz) were elected to preside over the work during this period of sessions. No date has been set to end these sessions.

[Begin Senator Maria de los Angeles Moreno recording] There is no deadline so we will conclude when the agenda topics are exhausted. We do have a limit, however, on the topics because we cannot debate topics not included on the agenda. [end recording] According to a ruling by the Government and Constitutional Issues Committee, the topics to be debated during the special

period of sessions are as follows: constitutional reforms on electoral matters; political reform of the Federal District; penal reforms to punish organized crime; reforms to modify the start and conclusion of the period of sessions; reforms on leasing; reforms to the monetary law establishing the new 50-peso coin; and reforms to the Federal Code on Electoral Institutions and Processes.

The period of sessions, that begins on 17 August, gets under way with the debate on penal reforms. After his election to preside over the legislative work, Senator Lugo Gil stated the debates will center on the PRI proposal on electoral reform. He added that it is advanced and goes beyond all others opposition proposals.

Costa Rica

No Dismissal of U.S. Envoy Following 'Dispute'

PA1808030593 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 2216 GMT
17 Aug 93

[Text] San Jose, 17 Aug (DPA)—Today, President Rafael Angel Calderon said the Costa Rican Government will not dismiss Gonzalo Facio, its ambassador to Washington, following a dispute between Facio and Foreign Minister Bernd Niehaus.

The conflict was over Facio approving a statement by four U.S. senators, including Robert Torricelli, who issued a letter criticizing the Caribbean Common Market (Caricom) after its statement favoring an improvement of ties with Cuba.

Torricelli authored the law named after him, which went into effect last October and which punishes subsidiaries of U.S. companies based in third countries that trade with Cuba.

The Foreign Ministry disavowed the attitude of its envoy to Washington and warned that Facio's approval of the U.S. senators' action was hasty.

It was learned today that the ambassador would arrive in the country in the next few hours to explain his attitude to Calderon and his possible resignation has not been ruled out.

However, President Rafael Angel Calderon said that the government, despite the clash with the foreign minister, reiterates its confidence in Facio and will ask him to remain in his post until 8 May 1994, when the current administration's term ends. I hope Gonzalo is not thinking about leaving his post before my term in office expires, Calderon added.

Meanwhile, Niehaus said that the support which Facio gave to the senators in a letter that no other Central American country signed violates the principle of respect for sovereignty of other countries, which Costa Rica endorses in its international policy. He also said that this action endangers Costa Rica's relations with Caribbean nations, from which the minister is seeking support for his candidacy to the presidency of the Organization of American States (OAS). Niehaus is scheduled to tour several Caribbean states in the next few days. It is meaningless to adopt unjustified actions that divide Central America and the Caribbean, because the U.S. congressmen's letter was not the official position of the U.S. Government, the foreign minister concluded.

Opposition Breaks Economic Talks With Government

PA1708153493 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish
2302 GMT 14 Aug 93

[Text] San Jose, 13 Aug (NOTIMEX)—The National Liberation Party (PLN), the main opposition party, on

14 August, decided to break the dialogue it had initiated recently with Rafael Angel Calderon's administration to discuss issues related to the Third Structural Adjustment Program (PAE III).

Federico Vargas, head of the opposition parliamentary bloc, announced the PLN decision, and declared "war" on the government for having unexpectedly sent the PAE III to the National Assembly without first seeking a prior understanding with the opposition.

The PAE III is composed of several measures aimed at transforming the country's productive sector, reforming the financial sector, cutting the size of the public sector, and promoting a social action plan in favor of the lower income sector of the population.

Vargas refuted statements that the opposition is responsible for the International Monetary Fund (IMF) not approving new credit for Costa Rica. According to Vargas, the truth is that any possibility of obtaining new credit was already lost as the result of the government not meeting its commitments with the IMF, including the loss in international reserves and failure to control public spending during 1993.

The opposition spokesman in Congress warned the president that it will use "every legislative mechanisms to reject the PAE III." The government needs seven opposition votes for the program to be approved.

Ovidio Pacheco, head of the government bloc, called on the opposition's "patriotism and responsibility" to approve the PAE III to allow the country "to continue advancing in its development."

El Salvador

Murderers of U.S. Nuns Not Favored by Amnesty

PA1708184993 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1801 GMT
17 Aug 93

[Text] San Salvador, 17 Aug (DPA)—The El Salvadoran Supreme Court of Justice ruled that two former national guardsmen sentenced to 30 years in prison for the murder of four U.S. nuns must continue serving their sentences. This confirms that they should not be benefited by an amnesty.

The ruling adversely affects inmates Jose Roberto Moreno Canjura and Orlando Contreras Recinos, whose defense argued that the accused had received superior orders to commit the crime and so the crime was of a political nature. In light of this, the defense said that they could avail themselves of the amnesty and reconciliation law that was approved at the beginning of this year, which exonerated many soldiers who committed crimes during the war that plagued this nation.

The four nuns died on 2 December 1980 in the San Francisco hamlet, Santiago Nonuhualco, Paz Department, 30 km south of San Salvador. This incident

occurred when the nuns were travelling to the capital to Comalpa International Airport. The victims were Mary Elizabeth, Catherine Ford, Jean Donovan, and Dorothy Hazel.

Other former national guardsmen were also tried for this crime but they were not sentenced during the trial. With this ruling, the accused must continue to serve their 30-year sentences.

Guatemala

Government Establishes Relations With Iceland

PA1708152193 Guatemala City EL GRAFICO in Spanish 16 Aug p 6

[Text] According to information reported by Foreign Minister Arturo Fajardo Maldonado, the Guatemalan and Icelandic governments have decided to establish diplomatic relations. The announcement was made public in a joint communique issued in New York City, United States of America, at the United Nations by the permanent representatives of the governments of Guatemala and Iceland.

Both countries decided to establish relations because they are "convinced that the best way to strengthen peace and international security is through mutual understanding, cooperation, and friendly relations between nations."

Nicaragua

Paper Cites General Ortega's Resignation Rejection

PA1708190293 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 17 Aug 93 pp 1, 10

[Text] San Jose, Costa Rica—On 16 August, Nicaraguan General Humberto Ortega, commander of the Sandinist People's Army (EPS), said that he will not resign from his post because of domestic or foreign pressure and dismissed the possibility of the Nicaraguan armed institution undergoing a new reduction within the next 25 years. At the 16 August conclusion of a congress on demilitarization and democratization in Central America—a congress promoted by former Costa Rican President Oscar Arias—the Nicaraguan military commander, when commenting on a possible freeze of foreign aid to Nicaragua to press for his dismissal, said that his country "does not accept" imposed conditions. He stated: "Nicaragua's problem is not one person. We do not have to kneel before Washington to secure assistance. We are not going to accept any aid based on conditions that go against our dignity."

During the regional conference, which is being attended by defense and government ministers from Central America and by experts from the United States, Mexico, Canada, and Europe, the EPS commander said his

institution must maintain its 16,000 [number as published] man strength "to prevent chaos" in the country. He said that no other army in the region has undergone a reduction as large as that of the EPS. Ortega explained: "We went from an army of 90,000 to an army of 15,000.... [pauses] and we must realize that in countries like Nicaragua, a strong mechanism is needed to help consolidate democracy." Arias said he hopes Ortega will change his mind as discussions continue. Arias said it is necessary to reduce military expenditures throughout the region.

Ortega rejected any Sandinist connection with the 1984 attack on Eden Pastora in La Penca, where seven people died and Pastora was seriously wounded. Talks about a Sandinist connection with the attack emerged as a result of a report published in THE MIAMI HERALD, which attributed the attack to the Basque Fatherland and Liberty separatist organization that reportedly had acted on orders from the Sandinist National Liberation Front Directorate. Ortega asserted: "We had nothing to do with this. The CIA uses all sort of agents."

UNO Communique Requests Rejection of Amnesty Bill

PA1808010793 Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish 2200 GMT 17 Aug 93

[Declaration issued by National Opposition Union faction to the National Assembly in Managua on 17 August]

[Text] The National Opposition Union, UNO, faction states the following:

Taking into consideration the Nicaraguan people's overall feeling and the opinion shared by the Episcopal Conference of Nicaragua, the Higher Council for Private Enterprise, and numerous labor unions and groups, who demand an end to the impunity which has prevailed in the country in recent years.

And given we are convinced of the importance of constantly enforcing the law as the essential basis for a state of the law, we unanimously agree to the following:

1. Reject the amnesty bill presented by the president of the Republic.
2. Demand that the government of the Republic proceed to strongly enforce the law against those who have perpetrated crimes against the people without taking into consideration their political affiliation.

The UNO faction considers the amnesty is a valid resource when it is the result of a consensus between society and its political groups and when it contributes to the achievement of peace. However, under the current circumstances, it is an absolutely unilateral project and, far from achieving peace in the country, it will encourage delinquents to continue perpetrating their crimes.

This faction will not be scared or give in to the threats issued by groups of criminals who are trying to bend our will using threats and blackmail.

The blood shed by Nicaraguan people will fall directly on the heads of these delinquents and those who encourage their actions.

[Dated] Managua, 17 August 1993

[Signed] UNO faction

UNO Leader Condemns Amnesty Bill

PA1808015193 Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish
2200 GMT 17 Aug 93

[Telephone interview with Luis Sanchez Sancho, leader of the National Opposition Union, by Carlos Maturana; from the "Five O'Clock Sharp" newscast—live]

[Text] [Maturana] We have National Opposition Union, UNO, Deputy Luis Sanchez Sancho on the line. He is also one of the best political analysts in the country. Deputy Sanchez Sancho, the National Assembly, of which you are a member, has just approved the amnesty bill with 45 votes in favor, 4 against, and 1 abstention. The date of the bill has been extended to 15 August, in other words, to include the events which occurred in Esteli. Radio Corporacion's listeners would like to hear your views about this issue.

[Sanchez] With pleasure, Carlos. This morning, the UNO faction clearly stated its position in a communique. The faction categorically rejects what is called an amnesty law but is actually a license to kill. The government wants to pardon the worst crimes perpetrated in recent years in Nicaragua. In fact, it authorizes these criminals to continue their evil actions. We stated, earlier today, we are not scared by last minute threats.

The same thing happened with the famous ownership law. They tried every means, even criminal means, to dissuade the faction of honest, patriotic, and democratic deputies. They wanted us to change our position. The same thing is happening now. I think the Nicaraguan people realize the organizations with the greatest political and moral responsibility, meaning the Catholic Church, human rights groups, UNO, the private sector, democratic labor unions, in other words, all the decent people of Nicaragua, have closed ranks on this issue. Unfortunately, despicable interests, not the people's interests, have prevailed again.

[Maturana] Thank you, Deputy Luis Sanchez Sancho.

National Assembly Passes Amnesty Bill

PA1808012893 Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish
2200 GMT 17 Aug 93

[From the "Five O'Clock Sharp" newscast]

[Text] This just in: The amnesty law was just approved by the National Assembly. A general amnesty has just

been approved. A total of 50 deputies—39 Sandinist National Liberation Front deputies and 11 Center Bloc deputies—were there when it was time to vote. The final vote was as follows: 45 in favor, 4 against, and 1 abstention.

Furthermore, the date of the amnesty was changed. The bill previously said the amnesty would include crimes perpetrated up to 12 July but, since it was necessary to include Pedrito el Hondureno and those who attacked Esteli, the date was changed to 15 August. The amnesty includes all those who have perpetrated political or related crimes. The murders of Arges Sequeira and many Nicaraguan Resistance commandos, perpetrated throughout the country, will remain unpunished. Even though four Center Bloc deputies voted against the bill, political groups believe these deputies have in fact tacitly supported the amnesty. If these deputies had stayed away, the Sandinists would not have had the necessary quorum to approve the bill.

UNO Says Political Talks Depend on FSLN Support for Reforms

PA1708200493 Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish
14 Aug 93 p 1

[Report by Roger Suarez]

[Text] After evaluating an invitation, faxed by Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] Secretary General Daniel Ortega to "exchange opinions," National Opposition Union [UNO] Coordinator Roberto Urroz indicated that this alliance will not initiate talks with the FSLN as long as it does not officially accept substantial reforms within the country's constitution.

On the morning of 14 August, Urroz was preparing a written reply to Ortega's invitation. He reiterated his 4 August position of being willing to discuss any serious Sandinist proposals that include substantial changes to the country's political constitution.

The FSLN invitation also was forwarded to the Executive Branch, the Higher Council of Private Enterprise [COSEP], and the Group of Center. This morning, however, Group of Center Coordinator Alejandro Solorzano stated to LA PRENSA that his group had not received any Sandinist invitation.

"Nevertheless, the Group of Center is willing to meet, without any prior conditions, with the FSLN and other groups involved in the country's real situation in an effort to find solutions to our national problems," Solorzano indicated.

LA PRENSA was interested in knowing if National Assembly President Gustavo Tablada, also a Group of Center member, had received Ortega's invitation. Unfortunately, this newspaper was informed that he was out of the country when we visited his home.

Independent Liberal Party member Wilfredo Navarro stated that the new Sandinist proposal "is merely a new propaganda campaign intended to give the government some breathing room because it is being pressured nationally as well as internationally."

Navarro described FSLN Secretary General Daniel Ortega as someone who is not serious enough and "who, instead of forwarding an invitation, would seem to be sending a memo to the various groupings in the country."

In reference to Ortega's invitation, COSEP President Ramiro Gurdian stated at a 13 August UNO Political Council meeting that "as businessmen, it is not up to us to talk to the FSLN but, rather, up to the political parties."

According to political sources present at the UNO-COSEP meeting, Gurdian expressed COSEP's support for an eventual UNO meeting with the FSLN, which would contribute to resolving problems within the National Assembly, at the political council gathering.

Panama

President Rejects Minister's Resignation

PA1808002193 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 17 Aug 93

[From "The RPC Television News" newscast]

[Text] Foreign Minister Julio Linares has placed his post at the disposal of President Endara so as to not harm the president's image in the face of what he described as inaccuracies in the report presented by the commission that travelled to Spain to investigate the weapons-trafficking case. The foreign minister said he has placed his post at the disposal of President Guillermo Endara in view of the official report on the illegal import of weapons that were going to be diverted to the former Yugoslavia.

[Begin Linares recording, in progress] ...that I was placing my post at his disposal, because I prefer to maintain my dignity and honor rather than cause him any harm. [end recording]

Linares felt he was being attacked in the report on the weapons, and he criticized the contents of the document. Although he is not directly accused, the document notes that several high-ranking Panamanian Government officials acted with negligence and disregard in this case.

[Begin Linares recording] The report is plagued with inaccuracies not to mention errors. We are going to show this not with words; we are going to prove this with documents because I like to speak with documents in my hand. Look, if I were distrustful and I see the report seeks mainly to mar the prestige of this Foreign Ministry, and I notice that there is a Christian Democratic legislator, who going around saying he is going to request a vote of

censure against the foreign minister for the negligent manner in which he acted in this case, and then I see that the chairman of the commission belongs to the Christian Democratic Party, I would say there seems to be a plot to supply that legislator with information so he can continue working on that vote of censure he's always talking about. [end recording]

Linares told the press that he will continue working in his post for the time being. In the event the president decides to replace him, Linares said he hopes President Endara will support him.

Meanwhile, a last-minute report says official spokesmen for the presidency of the republic announced a few minutes ago that President Guillermo Endara has not accepted Foreign Minister Julio Linares' resignation. According to the presidential spokesmen, President Endara is pleased with the work done by Linares at the Foreign Ministry and with regard to the case of weapons trafficking to the former Yugoslavia.

The commission appointed by the president to investigate this case has concluded the Foreign Ministry was negligent in this scandalous case.

Endara Message on Announced Teachers' Strike

PA1708123993 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 16 Aug 93

[Address by President Guillermo Endara in Panama City on 16 August; from the "RPC Television News" newscast—recorded]

[Text] My fellow citizens, I have decided to make my customary Friday address this evening in order to talk to you about the current request for wage increases for teachers, which would mean an additional expense of \$37 million annually for the government. It is my duty to you as part of my administration's work. This time I must address the difficult decisions we must make regarding government employees' continuous demands for wage increases.

Why have teachers made continuous strike and demonstration threats for the past three years demanding wage increases? They reject benefit certificates, they demand privileges, and threaten to paralyze the country if they do not get what they want. Why is this? A large number of schools lack the equipment and materials they need to function. How is it that these problems exist when Panama's economy has grown for three consecutive years at one of the highest rates in Latin America? One of the reasons behind this serious problem is none other than the size of government bureaucracy, which has 138,000 employees receiving \$932 million in wages per year.

On top of all the requests we receive every day, we now have the teachers' petition. Teachers are demanding wage adjustments and threatening to go on strike. I could avert the strike by irresponsibly deciding to accept their

demands and passing the tab on to the next government. The Education Ministry has a budget in excess of \$250 million. This is the highest in the central government. The ministry uses \$190 million for wages alone; that means 75 cents of each dollar of the ministry's budget. As we all know, government funds are limited. The government is not a bottomless pit and, therefore, those demanding wage increases suggest the fund be taken from other entities just to please them. This is an unfair proposal. In order to satisfy these demands, justified or not, the government would have to find the funds somewhere. The government would have to consider several alternatives.

1. Request new loans, thus increasing the enormous current foreign debt. I can assure you that no financial institution offers loans for wage increases.

2. Increase government income by increasing taxes, which someone would have to pay.

3. Reassign budget allotments by sacrificing other sectors with equally important needs.

The government could implement these last two alternatives, but they are not feasible. I believe we cannot ask the people to make a greater sacrifice than what they are already making by increasing taxes. We cannot reduce the budget of any government agencies by sacrificing the jobs of other Panamanians, or by cancelling certain projects the country truly needs, just to face this additional \$37 million per year expense.

To conclude, I would like to assure you that I understand everyone's wish to progress and improve. Allow me to add, however, that this wish must be handled reasonably and it must be attained without harming any other Panamanians.

Until next time.

Argentina**Documents on Border Dispute Submitted to Court**

PY1708235693 Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 17 Aug 93 p 12

[Excerpt] Yesterday, Argentina and Chile submitted documents in Rio de Janeiro backing their border claims in Laguna del Desierto. The two countries have thus fulfilled the second legal step before the Latin American arbitration court, which must rule on the border conflict over an area under Argentine jurisdiction but claimed by Chile.

Deputy Foreign Minister Fernando Petrella confirmed yesterday that the documents were delivered at noon yesterday to the International Juridical Committee in the former Brazilian capital. This committee has been in charge since December 1991 of the arbitration of one of the border conflicts still pending between Argentina and Chile.

The court was created after the agreement signed on 2 August 1991 by Presidents Carlos Menem and Patricio Aylwin during the official visit the Chilean president paid to Buenos Aires. On that same day the treaty solving the border conflict over 23 other geographic points and mountain passes, which were the source of controversy between the two countries for many decades, was signed. The treaty, however, did not include the Laguna del Desierto case and the treaty establishing the border on the continental glaciers, whose approval is being delayed by the Argentine and Chilean congresses.

Petrella said yesterday that, following the delivery of the respective "counter-statements" by the Argentine and Chilean arbitrators, the disputed area will be inspected by three court judges who intend to go to the Laguna del Desierto area late this year.

The Foreign Ministry estimates that by early 1994 the court will start the oral audiences in which each of the parties will defend its position, and that the International Juridical Committee will issue a ruling by the end of 1994. [passage omitted]

Bolivia**Presence of U.S. Advisers Called 'Indispensable'**

PY1708204493 La Paz Television Nacional Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 17 Aug 93

[Text] Interior Minister German Quiroga said this morning that the U.S. Embassy was not consulted on the designation of authorities and that the presence of U.S. advisers in the country is indispensable.

Former Interior Minister Alberto Saenz Klinsky authorized the entry of 24 U.S. officers on his own and in writing. The U.S. officers will train the Leopards [Mobile Police Units for Rural Areas, Umopar] in our country's

jungles. But the former vice president also sent a request for approval to Congress, and this is the reason why Congress is discussing it now. Their presence is indispensable, the present interior minister says. The MBL [Free Bolivia Movement] will vote for the initiative. There are in fact only 24 officers.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Will they train the Army?

[Quiroga] No, definitively no. This is a special program. They will only train the special forces to fight drug trafficking. The program is similar to the training given by the U.S. Army to the DEA in the United States. They will offer that course here. It basically consists of jungle fighting, pursuit, communications, how not to get lost. [end recording]

Quiroga thinks the MBL will vote for the initiative:

[Begin recording] I am sure of it. [end recording]

What were the results of the visit by drug czar Lee Brown?

[Begin Quiroga recording] I think that there is a great opening in terms of the need for the U.S. Government to understand that the fight against drug trafficking must not only be against producers but also against consumers. This has been noted in the document. I think it is great progress for us because we are going to make a pincer movement against those who produce and those who consume cocaine. This will make our fight more efficient. [end recording]

Other news is that the U.S. Embassy has not meddled in the designation of authorities in his area. The minister also confirmed that Colonel German Linares will continue as head of the police Intelligence Department.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Was any under secretary candidate objected to by the U.S. Embassy?

[Quiroga] No, absolutely no one. First, the government has absolute sovereignty in this field. The embassy does not have authority here. The embassy was not consulted about the designation of any authority. They were appointed by the government with absolute freedom. [end recording]

But will Col. German Linares not stay in the Intelligence Department following a U.S. Embassy recommendation?

[Quiroga] That is not the case. Col. Linares is the national director of the Bolivian police Intelligence Department. He will stay in his position until he is assigned to another area as is routinely done at the end of the year. What we want to do with the Interior Ministry's Intelligence Department.... [end recording]

Politicians will no longer be persecuted or investigated. The Interior Ministry only will investigate drug traffickers and terrorists. This was stated by Minister Quiroga.

We close this report by saying that this morning a woman was installed as head of the Interior Ministry Immigration Department for the first time. We are talking about Victoria Valdivieso, who as of today will be responsible for passports, visas, and other immigration matters.

Brazil

Army To Stage 'Largest' Exercise in Amazon Region

PY1708202493 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 15 Aug 93 p 4

[Report by correspondent Marco Uchoa in Manaus]

[Text] The Americans have already shown twice this year that they are capable of mobilizing without any difficulty near the Brazilian border. In March, nearly 200 men from the U.S. Army and Navy participated in maneuvers in Guyana, on the border with Roraima. By coincidence, 2,000 Brazilian Marines participated during the last week of March in Operation Ribeirex Amazonas, at the dividing line between the states of Para and Amazonas. The presence of the Americans was detected through radar installations.

In June, the Americans again mobilized in Guyanese territory, but the number of men who participated in this second deployment was not revealed. Both Itamaraty and the Army General Staff were informed about the U.S. maneuvers. This may have triggered the charges on 12 August by Brigadier Generals Ciro Imbuzeiro and Carlos Uchoa about a U.S. military belt in the Amazon region, including the use of powerful radar installations, bases, and landing strips. The two generals claimed to be able to provide dates, locations, and numbers of personnel involved in the operations.

The Brazilian exercises in Santarem lasted five days and involved 12 ships and six helicopters in the area of the Tapajos and Amazonas Rivers. Two submarines were prepared, but were not used. It was the first time the landing craft NDD Ceara crossed the Amazonas River. The U.S. military deployment at the border with Roraima in March was the first in Brazilian history. Commander Rubens Perlingeiro Filho of the Manaus Naval Station, which is subordinated to the Manaus-based 4th Naval District, has said: "We did not provoke a coincidence over the dates for the exercises."

The Brazilians waged a simulated war in Santarem. The troops were divided into "white country" and "red country," which was the enemy and which was represented by the Manaus Marines. The objective was to create different tactical situations to surprise the

"enemy." The Americans may have carried out similar exercises. At that time, U.S. Marines were also participating in the operation Caribex with Brazilian soldiers, which involved tactical maneuvers. The number of U.S. and Brazilian ships operating in the Caribbean and in the North Atlantic has been kept secret. A group of Brazilian military officers believe the United States is negotiating with Guyana over the occupation of its border to set up a joint antiguerrilla training center in the jungle.

Although no Brazilian military officers have confirmed this, it is known they are preparing the largest military exercise ever conducted in Brazil. During the second half of September, the Brazilian Army will conduct Operation Surumu, a concentrated action by the Armed Forces in the Amazon region. Nearly 4,000 men will be deployed in several regions of the country. Three major operations are staged annually in the Amazon region, but none of them will be as carefully planned as Surumu. Participating in these maneuvers will be the 1st Jungle Infantry Battalion (BIS) and the Jungle Warfare Training Center [Centro de Instrucao de Guerra na Selva] (CIGS). This operation will represent a true war situation between the Manaus and Tefe municipal governments.

To prevent surprises, over the past six months the Army has transferred brigades from Petropolis, Rio de Janeiro State, and from Santo Angelo, Rio Grande do Sul State, to the Amazon region. This was a strategic decision. General Thaumaturgo Sotero Vaz, former chief of staff of the Amazon Military Command, was not surprised by the U.S. maneuvers. He said: "This type of action has become feasible there because of the large unguarded areas in the Amazon region." He added: "I find it strange, however, that neighboring countries which maintain good relations with Brazil should approve actions like these in their territories."

The Amazon region covers 1 million square kilometers. The border is 11,114 km long. It borders seven countries—Guyana, Suriname, French Guyana, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, and Venezuela. Two years ago, the Americans set up a radar installation in Leticia, Colombia, to monitor aircraft movement in the region as a move to interdict the drug trade. That radar transmits the information to another facility in Pucallpa, Peru.

Anti-Americanism Resurfacing

PY1708221093 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 15 Aug 93 p 3

[Editorial from the "Notes and Information" section: "Brazil Surrounded"]

[Text] Fortunately, Brazil is not a great power. Had it been one it would not have been able to implement a policy befitting a great power. It would not have been in a position to do so because Brazilian deputies practice open diplomacy. There is no such thing as diplomatic oi

security secrets in Brazil, and even less so when, pursuant to the national Constitution, they are communicated to the national Congress. This inclination displayed by deputies, especially those who are National Security Committee members, besides doing a disservice to the country's foreign and security policies, also may be furthered for achieving dubious objectives.

The presence of American, French, and British troops in the Amazon forest, outside Brazilian territory, is providing old nationalisms with grounds for surfacing again, thus advancing the interests of those who are looking for a red herring for domestic hardships. Those who are responsible for conducting Brazil's security policy have not yet realized the implications of the resurfacing of an antagonism toward the United States.

The reasoning behind that new wave of anti-Americanism is not exactly conspicuous for its internal cohesion. Notwithstanding this, or precisely because of it, it underpins the theory whereby 200 or 800 American soldiers together with a bunch of French and British soldiers are enough to place our national security in jeopardy. For some, since there is nobody who has enough authority to be able to stem the tide of this political irrationality, the age-old "theory of the siege," drawn up during the worst phase of the authoritarian regime, is reappearing under a new guise—this time translated in all conceivable primitive languages by the left, faithful to a Castroist-type of communism, and by extreme right nationalists, who wish to effect an about-face even with the support of the left by shouting from the housetops that there will be either a Fujimorization or a threat to national security.

The "theory of the siege" saw the light of day when General Agustin Lanusse was president of Argentina [1971-73] and Uruguay and Bolivia were governed by administrations deemed "leftist"—not to speak about Colombia and Venezuela, which had democratic governments, or about Guyana, which then was regarded with suspicion as happened later during the interregnum of Janio Quadros in 1961. This geopolitical interpretation led the Second and Fifth Sections [not further identified] to draw an obvious conclusion: Brazil's neighboring countries were in the hands of democratic or leftist governments that worked to balk Brazil's development to prevent it from becoming a great power that, although authoritarian, would oppose U.S. interests in the hemisphere.

It is not relevant here to discuss whether this conspiracy theory is well founded. What should be pointed out, however, is that now that Brazil is under democratic rule (even though it is steeped in a crisis) and there are no leftist governments beyond our borders, those who have considered "imperialism" their foe since the cradle, and need to ascertain their *raison d'être* at any price, feel the need to give another foundation to that "theory." The presence of American soldiers in the Amazon region is proof enough—after all, are they not also in Colombia,

Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, and even in Argentina? What interests can the United States pursue in those countries but to hem in Brazil by monitoring its air space with powerful radars? Why would they intend to lay siege to Brazil? Because Brazil is the only developing country that can undermine the real power wielded by vast economic sectors in the United States inasmuch as by subduing environmentalists' restrictions we can reach the Pacific!

As was previously pointed out in our editorial "A Made-up Enemy," all the events that inspire this new "theory of the siege" do or did exist—President Francois Mitterand's tactless comment about a specious right to interfere in other country's internal affairs, contingency plans being drafted at a friendly country's military command school for a possible UN intervention in the Amazon region, U.S. radars positioned on our border to monitor flights by drug traffickers, military exercises conducted only a step away from our borders in friendly countries because the Brazilian Government decided to turn down the U.S. proposal to transfer its Panama-based military bases to Brazil.

All these considerations are true; to this one we should add the UN study on the rights of indigenous people. But from there to believe that Brazil is being hemmed in by the United States, well that is a different kettle of fish, which reminds us of [Gilbert Keith] Chesterton's [1874-1936] consideration of the impeccable logic of mad people, who will never believe in a person who tells them that the police are not after them. After all, madmen reason in a logical way since a policeman who indeed wants to capture a suspect will not say he is a policeman.

The new "theory of the siege" bears a great similarity to mad people's unbeatable logic that, to quote Chesterton, can only be changed by broadening the mental and emotional universe of those who stand up for it. What can be done then, when it is precisely in their hidebound mental universe that the advocates of that "theory" find their *raison d'être* and in that "theory" that they base their pursuit of power and prestige?

Government To Purchase 12 Radars for Amazon Region

PY1708211893 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 14 Aug 93 p 4

[Article by Vanda Celia in Brasilia]

[Text] The Secretariat of Strategic Affairs (SAE) will coordinate the purchase of 12 two-dimensional radars—which would be compatible with the Dacta I, Dacta II, and Dacta III systems—to monitor the Amazon region. Thus, there will be 20 radars installed there in accordance with a program approved by the National Defense Council. Furthermore, three mobile radars are being sent to the region as an emergency measure because there are only three sets of primary equipment to cover an area representing 60 percent of the national territory and harboring a third of the world's rain forest.

Aeronautics Minister Lelio Lobo yesterday admitted that the surveillance system set up by the military in the Amazon region is "extremely weak." He added: "It is incumbent upon us to do something about it."

The equipment will be purchased from foreign companies. There are 14 manufacturers of this type of radar in the world. Brigadier Lobo was charged with explaining the government's decisions affecting the Amazon region. He called a news conference to justify President Franco's decision to sign a decree yesterday to waive requirements for public bids to purchase two sets of equipment. He said this waiver is necessary to keep the project secret.

Lobo exercised caution in referring to the presence of foreign bases at the Amazon region's border. While acknowledging that these reports originated in military circles, he stated: "Some statements reveal much speculation but little information." He noted, for instance, that Brazil has never reported any case of U.S. Air Force planes overflying the Amazon region without Brazilian authorities being informed. He stated that the Brazilian military is not preparing any plan against any country, but rather that it just is trying to implement a surveillance and monitoring system in Brazilian border areas at an approximate cost of between \$600 million and \$800 million.

Lobo added: "If this were a defense system, its cost would not be under \$3 billion." He admitted, however, that a minimum surveillance proposal submitted to the government by the military ministers has been postponed since 1990 due to a lack of funds. He added that the surveillance system to be set up in the Amazon region will be designed to deter illegal activities in the region, especially the drug trade, and to bring the smuggling of mineral resources under control.

Secretary Pledges Reactivation of Calha Norte Project

PY1708202093 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 15 Aug 93 p 5

[Article by Suely Caldas]

[Text] Rio—Devised by the military during the Sarney government, the Calha Norte project was designed to protect and defend the border of the Brazilian Amazon region, north of the courses of Solimoes River and Amazonas River. Ambitious as it was, the project involved various ministries, and was aimed at promoting an orderly civilian and military occupation of the Amazon Region, including the installation of municipalities, settlements, environmental protection, appropriate assistance to indigenous populations, more border marks, and consulates in the border regions with neighboring countries.

After the achievement of the project's goal, the military believed the Brazilian Amazon Region would be preserved and protected from the ambitions of other countries. Problems arising from the growing international interest in the region—from drug trafficking and contraband, to conflicts among gold panners, homesteaders, and Indians—would be gradually reduced.

Little was done. During the Collor government, former Strategic Affairs Secretary Pedro Paulo Leoni Ramos time and time again refused funds, and the Calha Norte project was deactivated. In talks with congressmen last week, current SAE [Strategic Affairs Secretariat] Secretary Admiral Mario Flores regretted the project's deactivation, and pledged to gradually reinstate it.

Amazonas Governor Urges 'Orderly' Amazon Occupation

PY1708183793 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 15 Aug 93 p 5

[Interview with Amazonas State Governor Gilberto Mestrinho by Marco Uchoa; place and date not given]

[Text] [Uchoa] Is the Amazon region at risk?

[Mestrinho] The region is not protected. I favor the occupation of the Amazon region's empty spaces to guarantee our borders' integrity. The U.S. presence in the border areas is not new. The presence of U.S. missionaries has increased significantly in the past few years. We must make very clear that the Amazon region is Brazilian, and that all changes in the region must be decided on our territory. The possible establishment of U.S. bases in neighboring countries leaves the region more vulnerable, and that is of concern.

[Uchoa] Who are the enemy?

[Mestrinho] The people who do not understand that the jungle can be occupied in an orderly manner. We can no longer feel moved by the romantic speech of ecologists who say that a tree cut here will alter the world's climate. It is not so. Our forests are being preserved, and we need an alternative use for them. Former President George Bush learned here that forests are renewable. A tree that is cut grows up again in no time.

[Uchoa] Is the refloating of the Calha Norte Project [for the occupation of northern border areas] a solution for the empty Amazon region spaces and for the prevention of military acts in border areas?

[Mestrinho] The restoration of the Calha Norte Project is essential. In this project the military guarantee the integrity of borders, and grant assistance to people in a determined region. It was one of the most auspicious Amazon region projects. It is good for the government to have awoken from a deep sleep.

[Uchoa] What are the alternatives for the Amazon forest?

[Mestrinho] We need to guarantee an Amazon regional bloc in Congress, so as to prevent the approval of laws that are not in accordance with Amazon region realities. It will be a way to prevent the activity of people who use the smoke curtain of the ecology and environmental damage to create a lobby against development. We can take advantage of existing natural resources, and move products through rivers. But for that to be possible we need funds and projects. It is good to see that people's position regarding the Amazon region is changing.

Paraguay

River Accord Signed With Argentina

PY1708211493 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish
15 Aug 93 p 23

[Text] The last bilateral agreement of President Andres Rodriguez's administration was signed on the afternoon of 14 August. The Paraguayan and Argentine foreign ministers signed the agreement, which guarantees the execution of three works in the lower basin of the Pilcomayo River, seeking to settling the controversy over this water resource which is of great importance for both countries.

The agreement signed on 14 August reflects the agreement of both governments to implement the corrective measures included at the suggestion of the technical commissions from Paraguay and Argentina in a legal document signed by the respective commissions.

The recommendations were designed with the help of three technicians from the European Community (EC) and from the Russian Federation, which the two countries had requested.

The agreement provides for implementation of the work suggested by the technicians in three areas: 1) Facilities at three critical places where the river tends to divert toward one country; 2) An interception system to collect flood waters, and; 3) Corrective measures at the diversion area, closing the channel built by the Argentines, and opening a channel on the Paraguayan side, opposite the Argentine channel.

The document that [then Paraguayan Foreign Minister Alexis] Frutos Vaesken and [Argentine Foreign Minister Guido] Di Tella signed yesterday expresses the two governments' will to provide the necessary resources to expeditiously implement the work recommended by the technicians, that is, sending machines and men to begin the work as soon as possible.

The short-term work should be completed before the normal flooding season, which starts in mid-December and lasts until the end of May. No work can be done during this period because the area becomes fully flooded.

Paraguayan technicians estimate that the work suggested in the document of recommendations can be completed in 60 days, without considering rain, which prevents work in the area.

The governments also promise to formulate the necessary guidelines, through their respective foreign ministries, to guarantee the execution of the work that will benefit both countries, the environment, and the economy.

The Argentine foreign minister arrived yesterday at around 1730 with the Argentine presidential entourage for Engineer Juan Carlos Wasmosy's inauguration. He and his Paraguayan counterpart went directly to the Foreign Ministry to sign the bilateral agreement on the Pilcomayo River.

Peru

* Anniversary of Shining Path 'People's War' Marked

93WR0283Z (CLANDESTINE) EL DIARIO in Spanish
May-Jun 93 p 9

[Editorial: "Long Live the 13 Years of the People's War"]

[Text] On 17 May of this year, the Class and the Peruvian people, headed by the PCP [Peruvian Communist Party], under the sole leadership of President Gonzalo, teacher of communists worldwide, celebrate the 13th anniversary of the victorious and ascending People's War [GP], with stunning action throughout the entire country.

The PCP is currently developing the Strategic Balance being acquired by the New Power all over the country (through thousands of People's Committees and Support Bases), consolidating the growing, vigorous People's Republic of New Democracy that is being formed.

Since that glorious 17 May 1980, correctly implementing the revolutionary plans and campaigns, the PCP has sealed each of its words with action. Now, the invincible GP is expanding throughout the whole national territory, sowing the New Power.

These past 13 years of arduous revolutionary toil have served to clearly demonstrate to all the people the putrefaction of the old State, which is collapsing amid severe, insurmountable contradictions between the two factions of the grande bourgeoisie. This is reflected in the boasts of the genocidal Nicolas de Bari Hermoza, who put tanks out on the streets to frighten the clowns in the CCD [Democratic Constituent Congress].

The public disclosure of crimes against "Human Rights" by the regime (charged opportunistically, first by the

CCD revisionists, and later by the "insubordinate" General Robles, now dismissed) clearly reveals the breakdown in the reactionary armed forces. There is a confrontation not only between the "military power" (FFAA [Armed Forces]) and the "political power" (Congress), but also between some generals and others: that is, with one genocidal group pitted against another.

Kenyo Fujimori, terrified by the new situation compounding the irrepressible advancement of the GP, now appears conciliatory. He is attempting to minimize the significance of the conflicts that are obvious to everyone; he avoids making statements, and is still giving away computers. He puts on spectacles of captured "terrorists."

Correctly implementing the policy of escape and rescue of prisoners of war, the EPL [People's Liberation Army] recently occupied the cities of Cusco and Huaraz (Ancash), causing upheaval in the country's central zone. The selective annihilations of DINCOTE [National Counterterrorism Directorate] henchmen and SIN [National Intelligence Service] informers, and of mayors and "black heads" of the genocidal patrols, are continuing to take place successfully. The ambushes of troop carrier vehicles and patrol cars are also continuing.

The reactionaries have no recourse left except to use smokescreens, in an attempt to conceal the truth about their inevitable downfall.

Relying on the complicity of the news media (primarily TV), they are attempting to focus the masses' attention on disputes between reactionaries (De Soto against Vargas Llosa), judicial proceedings involving "lumpen"-bourgeoisie" (the Caligula-Manarelli case), "shows" of "major terrorists captured" (introducing the revisionist, reactionary army collaborator, Cumpa), farces such as the so-called "historical contingent," and the "PCP's fundamental committee in Huallaga," or the alleged "fundamental committee of Lima Department."

The genocidal groups must maintain their paramilitary units. That is the reason for the continued disappearances, assassinations, and looting of mostly poor townspeople at the hands of the reactionary armed forces, which then attempt to buy the population with a handful of food, a haircut, or a folk performance. Subjecting the masses to greater poverty, more hunger, and more genocide, the reactionaries are continuing their counterrevolutionary war (also called a "low intensity war").

Faced with this, the masses are rejecting the reactionary army's "civic action" and the televised hoaxes.

Countering the dreams of the genocidal groups, the encirclement of cities continues relentlessly, and the PCP's action continues to undermine the old, rotting state at its foundations. The Class has celebrated its International Day, May Day, aggressively, with more people's war.

The invincible Marxist-Leninist-Maoist GP, and Gonzalo's thought, are developing successfully, carrying out the established tasks: the Fourth Strategic Development Plan of the People's War, and the Sixth Military Plan to achieve the conquest of power throughout the entire country. It is now in its first campaign, "In Defense of the Leader, Against the Genocidal Dictatorship," as was made clear during the three days of struggle in the Armed Strike.

The facts prove that the PCP, contrary to what the reactionaries attempt to show, is an invincible war machine that will inevitably win Power for the Class and the people. And they prove that no genocidal foreigner wearing a sash will succeed in stopping its progress.

We end these lines, on this new anniversary of the greatest feat of the Peruvian revolutionary proletariat, by once again warning genocidal Fujimori and his accomplices, with all our class hatred, that they will pay with their lives for the "lightest scratch inflicted on our beloved and respected President Gonzalo, sole chief of the PCP.

Long Live the 13th Anniversary of the People's War!

Long Live President Gonzalo!

Long Live the Peruvian Communist Party!

Long Live the People's Liberation Army!

Long Live Maoism!

Defend the Life of President Gonzalo!

Long Live the People's Republic of New Democracy!

Venezuela

Velasquez Speaks at Border Meeting

PA1808000293 Caracas Venezolana de Television
Network in Spanish 1612 GMT 17 Aug 93

[Speech by Venezuelan President Ramon J. Velasquez at a ceremony marking the 18th meeting of the Colombian-Venezuelan Border Economic Integration Commissions in Maracaibo—live]

[Text] Your Excellency Dr. Cesar Gaviria Trujillo, president of the Republic of Colombia; Dr. Juan Manuel Santos, Colombian presidential designate; Your Excellency Madame Nohemi Sanin, foreign minister of the Republic of Colombia; Messrs. members of President Gaviria Trujillo's cabinet; Dr. Silvio Romero, governor of Zulia State; presidents of the Colombian-Venezuelan Border Integration Commissions; messrs. ambassadors of Colombia and Venezuela; messrs. presidential commissioners; regional authorities; special guests; messrs. representatives of the news media; ladies and gentlemen:

President Gaviria and our illustrious friend the Colombian foreign minister will allow me to break the rules of

protocol here with you. I dutifully brought along a written speech, but in this atmosphere of integration and faith in Latin America's destiny and in the role I have played over the past four years as president of the Venezuelan Border Affairs Commission, I am overwhelmed with emotion. [applause]

In the past, in the earlier years, there were two solitary commissions that never strayed from the texts of the Official Gazettes, from greetings between foreign ministers and from attitudes of generosity on the parts of Presidents Barco and Perez. However, the integration process has enveloped the resolve and thoughts of the two countries' new people. As we met over the years—this is the 18th meeting—whether in Maracaibo or Valledupar, Cucuta or Guasdalito, Caracas or Bogota, this presence, which was first called Economic Border Integration, gradually took shape and eventually, in a most admirable fashion, came to include regional universities, chambers of commerce and production, development corporations, workers and women.

At subsequent meetings, both Colombians and Venezuelans were assisted by a succession of professionals from both countries. They were experts in all the modern disciplines who were capable of understanding the process that was beginning, and who came to know each other. Venezuelan technicians in transportation, communications, agriculture, animal husbandry, environment, and foreign ministry became factors of integration. They later signed an incredible agreement with Colombian professionals who showed that Colombia was knowledgeable in all the modern sciences, arts and technologies. That is to say, these are the professionals in state ministries and institutes, who never appear on the front pages of the newspapers but who contribute with their wisdom, experience, and will in response to the confidence the country grants them in these missions.

I have mentioned this because the meeting of the commissions moved sectors that until now knew nothing about the meaning of integration and who discovered its advantages and the need to take the mission seriously. There has been a shift in the mentality and sensibility of those who have joined throughout these four years, which can be seen in the meetings held in Puerto Ayacucho, as well as those aimed at analyzing the oil spills, or the electric agreements, or the defense of the environment.

In Norte de Santander Department [Colombia], in Tachira State [Venezuela], in El Cesar Department [Colombia] and La Guajira Department [Colombia] and Zulia State [Venezuela], as well as in Arauca [Colombia] and Guasdalito [Venezuela], they always said they did not want to be mere conduits of the integration process. They always said the agreement could not be reached by taking into account only the Bogota and Caracas points of view.

We have been able to respond positively to this magnificent claim and to everything that the creative and active

people who live on this great and living border have done. These people are represented here in an orderly fashion to mark the decision of these nations who seek to make integration the path of Latin American destiny in the years to come.

I have also pointed out that integration is no longer a problem of Foreign Ministries or of state institutes because private enterprise has taken over and integration is advancing on its own. It would not be an exaggeration to say that vast Colombian sectors have now discovered Venezuela, and that large economic groups in Venezuela have discovered that Colombia has a powerful economy that strengthens itself and develops in spite of all the conflicts that a country may confront.

The image of Colombia or Venezuela carried abroad by news agencies is always a negative one, and it is in sharp contrast with the presence of Colombians in Bogota, Medellin, Cali, the coastal area. I have (not seen how) the Venezuelans began to discover large economic groups they never knew were in Medellin, Cali, Bucaramanga, Bogota; how a healthy and powerful economy grows and how economic relations between the two countries create—as one of the Venezuelan industrial leaders pointed out—a country of 50 million people.

Throughout this century's economic development, which has focused on relations with the United States, there has been no event as important to making the Andean Pact a reality as promoting Colombian-Venezuelan integration. Venezuela views integration as a national banner. Economic integration is not a prerogative of any particular group or party. It is necessary for economic development, for transforming an economy that until now had depended on oil revenues—which resolved every problem—into a different kind of economy, on that will provide a sure and broad market for the Venezuelan's economic production effort.

Everything that President Gaviria Trujillo's has mentioned with regard to problems with roads and agricultural imports, as well as all problems related to oil spills and the fiscal situation, are being studied with a view to their resolution.

In Venezuela, we are approaching an electoral process that will mark the beginning of a new period with a somewhat different configuration. But integration and this process have received clear support from the programs and ideas of those participating in the elections and the platforms of presidential candidates, because we must not forget that since 1968—with the creation of the Andean Pact—political forces that existed then in Venezuela unanimously supported this initiative, first President Leon and later President Caldera. At that time, this integration mechanism also included Chile.

This integrationist Venezuelan policy will be maintained regardless of ideological or party differences that may exist in Venezuela. Venezuela, as I have just said, is building a new road. The conflicts and crises it has endured have allowed it to think carefully, to do away

with some old ideas, and to march on the road of the countries that understand the demands of the world transformation. of economic modernization. This is a country that wants to put an end to an isolation perhaps produced by the facility with which oil resolved all its problems.

Today's meeting is one of Latin American reaffirmation. Most people here today are from border areas in both countries. It complements, supports, and ratifies the agreements reached in congresses, the agreements reached between heads of state, and the agreements published by the corresponding official gazettes. This is a reality that must be viewed with satisfaction and optimism, because these kind of meetings are a manifestation of the will of these two countries—but also the Latin American will—to reaffirm their democratic development under new and modern forms of economic development.

I solemnly declare open of the 18th Meeting of the Border Economic Integration Commissions. [applause]

Colombia's Gaviria Speaks

*PA1808024493 Caracas Venezolana de Television
Network in Spanish 1556 GMT 17 Aug 93*

[Speech by Colombian President Cesar Gaviria at a ceremony marking the 18th meeting of the Colombian-Venezuelan Border Economic Integration Commissions in Maracaibo—live]

[Text] Your Excellency Ramon Velasquez, president of the Republic of Venezuela; General Fernando Ochoa Antich, minister of foreign relations of the Republic of Venezuela; Messrs. Ministers; members of the official committee of the President of Venezuela; Your Excellency Cirio Romero, governor of Zulia State; Messrs. Presidents of the Colombian-Venezuelan border integration commissions; Messrs. Ambassadors of Venezuela and Colombia; Messrs. Presidential Commissioners; authorities; guests; and ladies and gentlemen:

It is very pleasant to return to Maracaibo—a prosperous and thriving city—to inaugurate the 18th Meeting of the Border Affairs Commissions.

Upon making an undoubtedly positive evaluation of the work undertaken throughout the four years of the commissions' existence, Mr. Ramon J. Velasquez stands out as their main promoter and an untiring worker.

Today, Mr. Velasquez, you are attending this meeting not as president of the commission, but as president of Venezuela. Your presence is reason for satisfaction for those of us who are convinced that the integration between our two countries is an essential response to the challenges posed by the times. It also confirms the Venezuelan nation's will for continuing the work aimed at attaining better living conditions in the border area and better instruments for the constructive treatment of all the affairs that form part of our bilateral relations.

Yours, Mr. President, is the merit for having set this task in motion and headed the effort of hundreds of individuals who have taken part in the process. Your enthusiasm and spirit for the well-being of our peoples has been spread to a large number of soldiers of integration, and Omar Baralt Mendez and Enrique Vargas Ramirez, as current presidents of this laboratory, have been working for this integration with precision and dedication.

Today, for example, our countries show a degree of refinement we have reached in working together. In a few moments we will create a new body of great importance for integration and will sign important agreements regarding environmental, electric, and farming issues.

Through the creation of the Economic Integration Committee, our integration will enjoy this institutional innovation that will guarantee the continuity of the process, as well as its permanent harmony with the economic and political situations in Colombia and Venezuela.

Through the agreement to struggle against and control hydrocarbon spills, the Colombian Petroleum Enterprise and Venezuelan Petroleum will be able to cooperate in using the most advanced technology available to protect the environment of our coastal and maritime areas.

By signing the new interconnection agreements between the Electrical Administration and Development Corp. and the Central Electric Department of Norte de Santander, with which we reinforce a regional relationship established many years ago, the two countries are strengthening a system that allows them not only to buy and sell electricity to and from one another at market prices, but also to advance toward complete security with regard to energy as support for the economic and social development.

Finally, with the signature of the agreements for the production and marketing of potatoes and the marketing of rice, what the two governments seek is basically to administrate the trade of those products for a limited time while our economies adapt to the rules of free competition so that the flow of exchange can be gradually increased, but without causing the local producers the problems we have had with importing rice to Colombia and potatoes to Venezuela.

Furthermore, in the case of rice, we will have a new framework for binational cooperation that will allow us to seek and exploit markets in third countries.

But, more than anything else, today it is fair to reiterate that the Neighboring Commissions have demonstrated their effectiveness. On another occasion I made reference to the manner in which their tasks have modified the concept of the border. More than just a simple dividing line, our border is today seen as a binational space with immense potential for direct benefits for the inhabitants of Colombia and Venezuela.

This novel concept has given the relationship between the two countries a tranquil atmosphere and has become a constructive factor for the integration. As has been so often said before, the Colombian-Venezuelan border is the most dynamic of Latin America.

At no other border is there such great movement among people, commercial exchange, or so much everyday life. This is the best proof that relations between the two countries have to open paths and mechanisms and invent instruments.

This is what the Presidential Commissions on Border Affairs have done. Our peoples want their leaders to respond to the need to work in a constructive manner for the many affairs that link Venezuela and Colombia.

Our two nations are united by geography, history, and warmth. We have to unite further by resolving problems and by implementing programs aimed at taking advantage of current opportunities. This has been the spirit that has created conditions and the spirit that must prevail in the future.

On this occasion, work commissions will hold a fruitful dialogue dealing with aspects as important and general as economic integration, environmental protection, planning, education, public works, and transportation and with specific aspects that are no less important, such as the recovery of stolen vehicles and the Azurca sugar program. Undoubtedly, free trade and economic integration have made the border situation more important.

As the capitals and other regions understand situations that have traditionally existed on the border regions, some economic activities that benefited from limited communications, transit, and transportation facilities created by past habits and laws, have been negatively affected. On the other hand, the opening of commerce and investments has created additional needs for the border municipalities and people. After all, growing trade and economic transactions go through customs and border posts, roads, and bridges. We must pay urgent attention to this new situation. This is the only guarantee that the integration process will be consolidated. In the future we will not be satisfied with structures that day after day prove themselves inefficient. Roads, bridges, and installations such as custom posts must be put in tune with the integrationist drive.

The public works ministers have pointed to projects that must be carried out so that the process does not stop. Likewise, we will continue the works aimed at guaranteeing security in the region. The building of conditions that offers to the border people a land of opportunities cannot have room for the agents of crime, and we cannot accept the utilization of the binational border as a site where a mockery can be made of justice and of the forces of order.

So far, military and police forces in the two countries have made much progress in improving security. Contacts between the commanders of the border departments and states and between the military high commands are a daily affair; there is satisfactory coordination, and results are good. Of course, we will not rest until kidnappings, car theft, the smuggling of fuel, and, in general, the presence of criminals who are the enemies of the two countries, end.

The Colombian Government knows that Zulia State is especially concerned about the car theft problem. When the Neighbor Commissions began meeting, the security bodies of Colombia and Venezuela for some time very effectively sped up procedures to detect and return stolen vehicles. Some legal obstacles appeared later. They are being resolved thanks to the perfecting of the agreement signed recently by our two countries. Once the agreement signed by our two nations is passed, no Colombian will be able to buy any vehicle that does not include a document from the Venezuelan authorities proving that it is the rightful owner who is selling it. I urge all Colombians to follow this procedure even before the agreement is passed. Mechanisms have been adjusted to avoid car theft, as well as the transportation of stolen vehicles. It is possible that our governments' firm decision to tackle this violation of the law took longer than had been hoped for in order to produce definite rewards, but it is undeniable that we are marching in the right direction and that criminal bands are now facing more adverse conditions than in the past.

Another issue that involves joint cooperation and work is the struggle against one of the worst enemies of Colombia and Venezuela—drug trafficking, an international network that exists in every continent and country and that includes production of raw material, processing, the traffic of narcotics, the detouring of chemicals, and money laundering. This is still a serious threat to our society, institutions, and our principles. This is why we have to adjust not only binational cooperation instruments but also make joint efforts to involve all the nations that one way or another suffer from the actions of this multinational crime. Countries where consumption has reached alarming proportions must make more efforts to reduce the demand. Nations where the chemicals for the processing of drugs are manufactured and those where financial transactions take place must make a greater effort. Only in this way will work in Venezuela and Colombia bear fruit.

Even very recently it was uncommon for heads of state to meet and discuss matters as specific as those I have mentioned here. This goes to show precisely how the border affairs commissions have improved our working system. Colombian-Venezuelan integration has ceased to be a topic of general and abstract proposals. It has become a specific task whose details now are as important to consolidating the process as was indispensable the political will of the governments at a given moment to initiate the integration.

Thus, integration has become a revolution of small things. Once again, the commercial topic agenda includes the treatment of issues, on which we have been working, on which we have achieved progress, but which require even more progress. I am referring to the efficient functioning of the customs posts or the necessity to reduce handling time in order to replace old protectionist habits and customs. Our joint goal should be none other than to ensure more favorable conditions for businessmen and workers of both countries. They have been enthusiastic promoters of the process and deserve to have their demands met.

If we do not reduce and simplify aspects of procedures and permits, we will be fanning the old ghosts of protectionism. In other words, we will be providing an opportunity for these ghosts to weaken the confidence of businessmen and impair the climate of competence, whose benefits can only be obtained in conditions of absolute transparency. The health permits, the problems of trademarks, and the consolidation of technical regulations still require further simplification.

My message for the working groups is the following: Do not be afraid to be creative and to propose new solutions for old problems. Also, save your energy and sensitivity so that you can create prompt solutions for new problems or for problems that may be threatening to emerge. I am convinced that the integration of our markets and the strong economic relations that exist between Venezuela and Colombia are among the most important events that have taken place on this continent over the past few years.

This is why many analysts agree that Colombian-Venezuelan integration has been the most successful integration process in the world between two developing countries. Within a complex international context, threatened by protectionist temptations and by the emergence of new factors of political upheaval, more than ever our hemisphere requires unity to succeed. Our induction into the first world will only be possible if we make a joint effort to achieve that goal.

Trade liberation has opened wide the big door of integration. Increased exports and imports between our countries have created new currents of investment and the creation of new businesses. They have also brought different sectors of society in both countries closer together. For instance, at this meeting we have in attendance rectors from the border universities. Academic centers are playing an ever-increasing constructive role in integration. Professors and students in our nations have achieved rapprochement. Interesting programs of invaluable contribution to the process have emerged.

Mr. President Velasquez, in conclusion I wish to express my satisfaction at being here again, in the territory of this sister nation, so close to my heart, and to reiterate my wishes for your personal welfare and success in the mission you have assumed. We have learned from you that integration is an invitation to optimism. Just as we have reached this point—which was unthinkable a short time ago—we can also anticipate that other opportunities will be created for our

peoples. Our task is to ensure that they will result in improved living standards for Venezuelans and Colombians alike. Thank you very much.

Guyana

Trinidad Governments Agree to Debt Service Deal

FL1808010093 Bridgetown CANA in English 2210
GMT 17 Aug 93

[Text] Georgetown, Guyana, Aug 17, CANA—Guyana, which owes Trinidad and Tobago over U.S. 400 million dollars, has struck a deal with the Trinidadian Government to service its debt mainly through debt for equity swaps, the Finance Ministry announced late Monday.

"Accordingly, it was agreed that the debt service obligations of Guyana to Trinidad and Tobago over the next three years would be met mainly through debt equity swaps..." The Finance Ministry said. "...To the extent that these are insufficient to absorb the full extent of the debt service payment of U.S. 21 million dollars that Guyana would make a cash payment to a maximum of U.S. 5 million dollars," the ministry added.

Trinidad and Tobago's junior minister of finance, Ken Valley, left here Monday night after holding debt talks with Guyana's Finance Minister Asgar Ally and President Cheddi Jagan. Valley was accompanied by Trinidad's high commissioner to Guyana, Louis Wiltshire.

Guyana owes the twin island republic about U.S. 480 million dollars. This stems mainly from previous petroleum imports. The statement quoted president Jagan as saying that "early opportunities" existed for investment by Trinidadian businessmen in the quarrying industry as Guyana geared for a major road rebuilding programme. The Trinidadian expertise and experience in this regard, the statement said, could be utilised.

"Opportunities for Trinidad and Tobago investment in the former (Guyana) National Service operations at Kimbia, particularly in the area of cotton and textile possibilities were also explored," the ministry said. Kimbia is a sprawling military-type centre in western Guyana run by the paramilitary Guyana National Service (GNS). It previously grew cotton and other vegetables in the 1980's, but has been downscaled because of inadequate funds. Other areas open to Trinidadian investment are the furniture and alumina sectors, drawing on the country's forestry and bauxite resources.

President Jagan was quoted as saying the joint economic council agreed to between the heads of Guyana, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago at the Nassau Summit in July would provide an "important mechanism for significantly enhanced cooperative activity between Trinidad and Tobago."

The Guyanese officials emphasised the country's economic difficulties were influenced by its huge debt service obligations. The privately-owned STABROEK NEWS quoted Wiltshire as saying: "We are convinced the Guyana economy is open enough to accommodate us and, very soon, we should finalise the arrangements."

